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# ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME I

# ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES

## RAPHAEL
## LEONARDO DA VINCI

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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# RAPHAEL

# PREFACE.

THE object of this work is to place before the people a biography of the greatest of Italian painters, at once authentic, compact, and inexpensive. The last two requisites are in the province of the publishers; and in order to approximate to the first the author has labored long and earnestly. All the recorded facts of the artist's personal and professional life have here been set forth, with some of the outside influences which combined to shape his course and indicate the lines for the development of his genius. Many of his famous pictures have also been described, with as much of detail as would interest the general reader; and their oftentimes singular histories are set forth briefly and without needless words.

Students of the history of art who wish to read and ponder over long discussions on minor points of Raphael's life, or who enjoy the singular and sometimes amusing theories of French and German critics, can find satisfaction in the numerous heavy tomes and manifold volumes wherein these subjects have been infinitesimally wire-drawn. The present work aims at giving the results of such controversies, without a paragraph of padding.

It is almost needless to say that the chief authority on which this biography rests is Passavant's "Raphael of Urbino" (in Paul Lacroix's edition, with revisional notes, published at Paris in 1860, in two volumes). With this art-classic I have compared the biographies of Raphael which have been written by Vasari, Quatremère de Quincy, Von Wolzogen, Charles Blanc, Charles Clement, C. P. Landon, and others. For Italian art-history at that epoch I have consulted Lanzi, Kugler, Eastlake, Layard, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Wornum, Rosini, Symonds, and Jameson. Gruyer's voluminous works on the Madonnas and the frescos of Raphael have also been useful; with the Italian travels of Taine, Hare, Jarves, Head, Burckhardt, Hillard, Waagen, Fairholt, &c.; and Dennistoun's "Dukes of Urbino," and Roscoe's "Leo X."

M. F. Sweetser.

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# RAPHAEL.

## CHAPTER I.

Giovanni Santi. — Urbino. — Birth of Raphael. — Early Studies. — Perugia. — The Umbrian School. — Perugino.

RAPHAEL SANZIO DA URBINO, the Prince of Painters, was born in the city of Urbino, on the 6th of April, 1483. The family of Santi, or Sanzio, was an old and respectable one, which included several artists and ecclesiastics, and had recently moved to Urbino from the outlying castle-hamlet of Colbordolo. The young Giovanni Santi devoted himself to what he called "the admirable art of painting," and in due time became one of the best of the Umbrian artists, nearly equal to Perugino or Pinturicchio. About twenty of his pictures still remain, showing feeble color and rigid outlines, combined with correct drawing and simplicity of conception. Giovanni was also a poet, and wrote a quaint epic of two hundred and twenty-four pages in *terza rima*, now in the Vatican Library, celebrating the martial deeds of the Duke of Urbino.

The natal city of Raphael stands on a bold cliff over the brawling Metaurus, surrounded by the sharp peaks of the central Apennines, and commanding a distant view of the blue Adriatic. It is now a half-forgotten town of eight thousand inhabitants, "presenting more forcibly the appearance of fallen grandeur than any town in Italy;" and is still remarkable for the extraordinary beauty of its youths. In the fifteenth century it was called "the Italian Athens," and stood preeminent in religion, culture, and chivalry, under the patriarchal government of Federigo da Montefeltro, a valiant general and judicious art-patron. For fourteen years he kept twenty or thirty copyists at work transcribing Greek and Latin manuscripts on vellum, which were afterwards bound in crimson velvet with silver clasps. On his return from the Papal-Venetian wars, he built the most splendid palace in Italy, beautified the city with gardens and statuary, and surrounded himself with artists and learned men.

Amid these glad activities of the liberal arts

Giovanni Santi prospered amain, and soon married Magia Ciarla, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, with whom he lived in rare felicity. To this couple a child was born, to whom Giovanni gave the name of Raphael, as if he foresaw his glorious future, while at the same time he declined to follow the prevalent Italian custom of providing a wet-nurse for him, desiring the mother to nurse the child herself. The house in which Raphael was born is still reverently preserved as public property, and stands on a steep hillside up which the pack-mules clamber, cat-like, over rugged stone steps. It contains a fresco of the Madonna, painted by Santi, in which the face of the Virgin is a portrait of Magia, and that of the infant Jesus represents the young Raphael. Giovanni and Magia had three other children, all of whom died young; and in 1491 the mother herself died also. Seven months later, Giovanni, feeling that his beloved boy needed a woman's ministrations, married Bernardina di Parte, the goldsmith's daughter, a lady of strong and determined character.

The young child grew up in the hillside home, under the tender care of his mother and the tutelage of his father, who guarded him from all unworthy associations. He spent much time in the studio, and was familiar with the implements and terms of art from his earliest childhood. Several crude Umbrian paintings are claimed by tradition as his juvenile works, but their authenticity is denied by the best authorities. In 1492 Santi frescoed the Tiranni chapel, at Cagli, in his best Mantegnesque manner. At this time the lad was with him, perhaps as a humble assistant, and his portrait is recognized in the sweet face of one of the angels in the fresco.

There is a tradition that Raphael received his first lessons in art from Luca Signorelli or Timoteo della Vite; but Lanzi says that he was instructed by Fra Carnevale, the best painter then in Urbino, whose pictures were certainly carefully studied both by Raphael and Bramante. It is also reported that Venturini, the tutor of Michael Angelo, taught him the Latin language; and that Bramante, Pacciolo, and other members of the galaxy of learned men then at the court of Duke Guidobaldo, assisted in other branches of his education.

Giovanni Santi died in 1494, leaving his widow

Bernardina and his brother Don Bartolommeo Santi, a well-to-do ecclesiastic, to act as guardians for his orphaned boy. But Bernardina was a resolute woman, and Bartolommeo was a grasping and officious priest; and they soon became engaged in sharp contentions about the management of the Santi estate. Raphael was neglected amid these domestic turmoils, until his well-beloved uncle Simone Ciarla, appreciating his genius, and deploring his unhappy situation, arranged that he should be sent away to pursue his studies in art. After a careful consideration of the advantages of the schools of Leonardo, Bellini, Mantegna, Francia, and Perugino, it was decided to commit him to the care of the latter. There is a tradition that the painter, after inspecting several of the lad's sketches, exclaimed, "Let him be my pupil: he will soon become my master."

Perugia, where the young student remained for nearly nine years, is one of the most picturesque of the renowned hill-cities of Italy. Its ponderous walls and gray Etruscan bastions crown a high green hill, and are overtopped by a cluster of church towers and domes. The battlements command a magnificent view over the valley of the Tiber and the white cities of Spoleto, Assisi, and Foligno, and along the lofty and austere Apennines, from Radicofani to the cloud-piercing Monte Caltrio. The steep and rocky streets open on paved squares, adorned with ancient sculptured fountains and papal statues, and overlooked by rugged Gothic façades and vast silent churches, rich in mediæval monuments and Pre-Raphaelite paintings. At a remote period the Etruscan city of Perusia stood here, and was destroyed by Augustus Cæsar, who replaced it by a Roman military colony, afterwards the prey of the Goths under Totila. In the Middle Ages it was seized by the ferocious Baglioni family, who held it for several generations, desolating the Umbrian Campagna by forays from their grim lair. These lion-hearts guarded the city while Raphael dwelt there; and the public squares often ran with noble blood, when the rival Oddi chieftains were cut to pieces by their pitiless foes, and the cathedral was so stained with massacres, that it was washed with wine and reconsecrated. The memories of these terrible conflicts, prolonged through the years of his sojourn, are preserved in certain of Raphael's later paintings.

One of the strangest phenomena of the Middle Ages was the growth and culmination of the Umbrian school of painting in the midst of these scenes of rapine and carnage. Drawing their earliest inspiration from Siena, the Umbrian artists had preserved a quiet and contemplative spirituality of manner, even in the face of the popular Florentine realism, and had developed the expression of ardent religious aspirations and profound devotion. For centuries the earnest mountaineers had revered the memory of the marvellous St. Francis, "The Seraphic," who was buried among them; and from his sacred mausoleum at Assisi had emanated the mighty influences which were manifested in the solemn tenderness and ecstatic contemplations of myriads of disciples. With the grim austerity of its rugged heights and the sympathetic sweetness of its rich and flowery valleys, the land seemed created for mystery, and was peopled with legends. Isolated among the glens of the cloudy Apennines and remote from the influences of the history and art of pagan or papal Rome, as well as from the materialistic methods of the commercial cities of the coast, the spirit of the people was reflected by their pietistic artists, who formed what may be called the last group of purely Christian painters. The pictorial flowering of this devout spirit appeared in Bonfigli, Santi, Francia, and Perugino, in pictures whose mechanical defects are counterbalanced by their evidence of religious enthusiasm.

Perugino was born in 1446, at the highland hamlet of Città della Pieve, and at an early age was carried to Perugia, where he studied art with a local painter. He afterwards entered the Florentine studio of Verocchio, in company of Leonardo, and labored diligently, in painful and abject poverty, until he became the most popular painter of Italy, and Rome and Florence contended for his presence. Although exhibiting more artistic symmetry than the older Umbrian works, his figures are often stiff and ungraceful, and are painted in a hard and dry manner. It has been said that Raphael's Madonnas are beautiful and gracious, but those of Perugino are innocent and saintly. The history of Perugino has been called "the saddest in the annals of Christian art." He was an adherent of the noble Savonarola, while laboring in Florence under a rolling fire of hostile criticism; but after the martyrdom of the great reformer, he renounced his faith in God and man. While on his death-bed, in 1524, he refused a confessor, saying, "I wish to see how a soul will fare in that Land, which has not been confessed." Ruskin calls him "a noble, gracious, and quiet laborer,—never weary, never impatient, never untender, never untrue. Not Tintoret in power, not Raphael in flexibility, not Holbein in variety, not Luini in love—their gathered gifts he has in balanced and fruitful measure, fit to be the guide and impulse and father of all."

After settling at Perugia the master painted an immense number of pictures, which are now scattered in all the galleries of Europe, showing the tender earnestness of his renewed earlier style, with marvellous faces and grouping, and backgrounds of fair landscapes and bright skies. He was driven by an inordinate desire for money, and became, as Taine says, a mere saint-manufacturer, accumulating great wealth, and owning numerous houses in Florence and Perugia.

## CHAPTER II.

Raphael in Perugino's Studio. — Early Works. — At Città del Castello. — At Siena. — "Lo Sposalizio." — Honors at Urbino. — Ambition.

Raphael entered Perugino's studio late in 1495, and remained there nearly nine years, conforming to the rigid discipline of the master, and gaining a thorough knowledge of the *technique* of his profession. Among his comrades and fellow-pupils were Pinturicchio, Lo Spagna, L'Ingegno, Ferrari, and Alfani. The master soon utilized his services on the constantly increasing work for the churches, and parts of Perugino's large altar-pieces are now recognized as of his pupil's execution. Raphael's copy of the "Infant Jesus and St. John," in distemper, on a gold background, is at the San Pietro Church in Perugia; and the large "Resurrection of Christ," now in the Vatican, was also a copy. "The Archangels Michael and Raphael" were painted by his own hand, for the wings of a large "Nativity" at Pavia; and were removed to

Paris in 1797, and afterwards to the British National Gallery. A few of Raphael's studies at this period are now in England and at Venice.

In 1499 the young student was summoned to Urbino to mediate in a new and bitter quarrel between his stepmother and the rapacious Bartolommeo Santi. He soon quieted the domestic storm, and settled an annuity on the persecuted lady, after which he returned to Perugia. A portrait painted about this time by Vite or Ghirlandajo, and now in the Borghese Palace, shows the great physical beauty of the youth.

In the year 1500, while Perugino was at Florence, Raphael was called to Città del Castello, where he sojourned for some time at the court of Vitelli, the head of the league which had recently defeated the papal army and forced Urbino to ransom its captive Duke. Here he painted a processional banner for the Trinità Church, showing St. Sebastian and St. Roch kneeling before the Holy Trinity, and, on the other side, the Creator approaching the sleeping Adam, and about to make Eve. The proud little church still preserves this canvas with jealous care. A more important picture was "The Coronation of St

Nicholas Tolentino," which remained in the Augustinian Church for two hundred and eighty-nine years, when it was purchased by Pope Pius VI., and disappeared during the French invasion of Italy. "The Crucifixion, with Four Saints," was executed for the Gavarni family, and after remaining for three centuries in the Dominican Church, passed through the galleries of Cardinal Fesch and Prince Canino to Lord Ward's collection. The works which the young artist left at Città del Castello are in the Peruginesque manner, and possess but few traits of originality.

In the same year Raphael assisted his master in the great frescoes in the Sala del Cambio, or municipal chamber of commerce, a dusty old hall which is now often reverently visited by art-pilgrims. These rich decorations included representations of the Pagan Virtues, the Triumph of Religion, the Nativity, and the Transfiguration, attended by a confused company of saints and sibyls, prophets and philosophers. It is thought that Raphael painted the prophets and sibyls, and most of the arabesques.

As Perugino declined under a faith blotted out and an invention paralyzed, Raphael advanced, slowly acquiring a deeper spirituality of character and a closer fidelity to nature. Among his productions at this time were the "Solly Madonna," now at Berlin; the "Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine," in the Northumberland Collection; and the beautiful "Alfani Madonna," recently removed from Perugia. These works were executed in Perugino's studio, in the building which is still carefully preserved at No. 18, Via Deliziosa, near the city wall.

In 1502 Cardinal Piccolomini engaged Pinturicchio to adorn the library of the Siena Cathedral with ten subjects from the life of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. The fortunate artist induced Raphael to aid him with certain drawings for this important work, in connection with which he spent the summer of 1502 in Siena. Raphael's drawings for the first and fifth pictures are still preserved. The hero-worshipping Vasari and several other authors credit the best coloring in these frescos to Raphael; but there is no sufficient reason for thus detracting from the merit of the amiable Pinturicchio, whose work is still famous for its beauty and richness.

In 1503 the young artist executed several in teresting easel-pictures, including the small and delicately drawn "Madonna between St. Jerome and St. Francis," now in the Berlin Museum. "The Coronation of the Virgin" was a large work in the Umbrian manner, though the four angels around the Madonna, and the twelve Apostles at the flower-filled tomb, show a marked approach towards the later style. The Coronation was ordered by the Lady Maddalena degli Oddi; and was carried to France during the Napoleonic invasion, and afterwards restored to the Vatican. "The Staffa Madonna" is an exquisitely finished circular picture, showing the Virgin pensively walking in a rural spring-time landscape, with snowy mountains in the distance. It remained in the Staffa Palace, at Perugia, for 368 years, and was sold to the Emperor of Russia, in 1871, for $70,000.

When about twenty years old, Raphael illustrated his position and temptations in the picture of "The Knight's Dream," now in the British National Gallery. It shows an armor-clad youth, sleeping on his shield at the foot of a laurel-tree, approached by two female figures, one of whom, gentle and serious, bears a book and sword, inviting to the noble ambition of study or arms, while the other, beautiful and brilliant, calls him to the joys of earthly luxury in the stately city beyond. The small picture of a young man, painted by Raphael, and now at the South-Kensington Museum, is supposed by some to represent the artist himself; and an undoubted portrait of this period, by a fellow-pupil, is now at Oxford. Tradition claims that about the same date Raphael painted "The Adoration of the Magi," for the Abbey of Ferentillo, which was purchased for the Berlin Museum for $6,000; but most critics refer this work to Lo Spagna.

When the Urbinese lad entered Perugino's studio, in 1495, the master was engaged on a picture of the *Sposalizio*, or Espousals of the Virgin, for the Cathedral of Perugia (and now in the Caen Museum). It was representative of a scene from the *Flos Sanctorum*, or the Gospel of the Nativity, then very popular in the Italian church. On finally leaving his master's studio, the young artist was commissioned by the Franciscans of Città del Castello to paint the same subject for their church; and he imitated the older work, though with superior perspective, and more beauty and graciousness. In 1798 Count Lecchi of Brescia, commanding a French brigade, with sword in hand compelled the magistrates of Perugia to present this picture to him; and it is now the chief ornament of the Brera Gallery at Milan. It is well preserved, and is the best example of Raphael's first or Peruginesque style. The "St. Sebastian," at Bergamo, dates from the same period.

In the autumn of 1504, Raphael returned to his native city, which had recently passed through a series of disasters. The viperous Cæsar Borgia had defrauded Duke Guidobaldo of his army and treasury, and then occupied his territories. A year later the Borgia Pope and his evil son were poisoned; and the Urbinese expelled the alien troops, and welcomed back their Duke from his exile at Venice. Guidobaldo was appointed Standard-Bearer of the Holy Church; and under the benign rule of its learned and pious prince, the golden age returned to the city, and the foremost scholars of Italy entered her gates. The Duchess Elisabetta and other high-born dames, who stimulated a pure chivalry among the denizens of the palace, took a warm interest in the young Raphael, and helped him to preferment and honor. He made copies of the portraits of ancient philosophers and poets, in the Ducal Library, and a sketch of the city, which he carried away as a memento of the home of his childhood. He also painted for the Duke, "Christ on the Mount of Olives," now in England; small round pictures of the Pietâ, St. Ercolano, and St. Lodovico, in the Berlin Museum; and the "St. George slaying the Dragon," and "St. Michael attacking Satan," in the Louvre.

But he soon wearied of the quiet provincial court, and grew restless and eager to seek knowledge on wider fields, and to see the great achievements of Angelo and Leonardo in Florence. During the exile of the Medici, Pietro Soderini was Gonfaloniere of Florence, to whom Duke Guidobaldo's sister wrote the following letter: —

"Most magnificent and powerful lord, whom I must ever honor as a father: —

"He who presents this letter to you is Raphael, a painter of Urbino, endowed with great talent in art. He has decided to pass some time in Florence, in order to improve himself in his studies. As the father, who was dear to me, was full of good qualities, so the son is a modest young man of distinguished manners; and thus I bear him an affection on every account, and wish that he should attain perfection. This is why I recommend him as earnestly as possible to your highness, with an entreaty that it may please you, for love of me, to show him help and protection on every opportunity. I shall regard as rendered to myself, and as an agreeable proof of friendship to me, all the services and kindness that he may receive from your lordship.

"From her who commends herself to you, and is willing to render any good offices in return.

"JOANNA FELTRA DE RUVERE,

"*Duchess of Sora, and Prefectissa of Rome.*

"URBINO, Oct. 1, 1504."

## CHAPTER III.

Raphael's Life and Works at Florence, from 1504 to 1508. — Excursions to Perugia, Bologna, and Urbino. — The Summons to Rome.

A NEW life now opened before the young artist, in the peerless City of the Lilies. In the full flush of the dawning Cinque-cento, and surrounded by the rich art-treasures of the Tuscan capital, he daily drank in fresh inspirations. Among the jewels of Florence, even at that early day, were the marvellous bronze gates of Ghiberti, the marbles and bronzes of Donatello and Verocchio, the enamels of Luca della Robbia, the monuments of the Medici, the vast cathedral-dome of Brunelleschi, the campanile of Giotto, and the paintings of Masaccio, Ghirlandajo, Angelico, and the ancient schools, with the fresh wonders of Angelo and Leonardo. For the artist it was indeed a city of enchantment.

The brave old Gonfaloniere was then engaged in curbing the restless agitators of Florence, after the decline of her strange Christocratic consecration, and appears to have been too busy to give much care to the ambitious youth from beyond the Apennines. But Raphael was received with warm hospitality by the wealthy Taddeo Taddei, the friend of the learned Bembo; and became intimate with San Gallo, Ghirlandajo, and other artists. With these associates he studied the frescos of Masaccio in the Carmine Church, which were famous for grand composition and soft coloring. Masaccio was the first Florentine who abandoned the formal method of Giotto, and became eminent, fifty years before, for love of nature, richness of coloring, and subtlety of expression. He is said to have held Giotto by one hand, and reached forward to Raphael with the other. Our artist's sketch-book contains numerous pictures from life, made at this period, and imitations of the great Florentine artists. He did not meet Leonardo, though under the profound influence of his works he sensibly modified his Umbrian manner, and adopted the serene smile which afterwards graced the faces of his Madonnas.

During the winter he painted for his friend

Lorenzo Nasi, the famous "Madonna della Gran Duca," now in the Pitti Palace, which is so called from the fact that the Grand-Duke Ferdinand III. of Tuscany carried it with him on all his journeys, and prayed before it every night and morning. The Madonna is depicted in a flowing blue mantle, looking down at the infant Jesus; and the firmly-outlined figures stand out in impressive distinctness. "The Madonna with the Children" is a round picture on wood, showing the Virgin and Child, with St. John and another infant, in a rich landscape. The Dukes of Terranova retained this at Naples until 1854, when the King of Prussia bought it for the Berlin Museum for $34,000. From the same period dates the small and finely-preserved Madonna which Lord Cowper purchased and transferred to his gallery at Penshangar, near Hertford; the portrait of young Riccio, in the Munich Pinakothek; and the large fresco of "The Last Supper," which was discovered in 1845 in the refectory of the Florentine Convent of St. Onofrio, and is attributed to Raphael by many connoisseurs.

Early in 1505, after several months of earnest labor, Raphael made a journey to Urbino, and from thence to Perugia, where he finished the altar-piece which he had previously begun for St. Anthony's Convent. It was composed of a Madonna and Child, with the infant St. John and four other saints; a lunette representing the Eternal Father; and five predella-pictures, including Christ in the Garden, Christ Bearing the Cross, the Pietà, St. Francis, and St. Anthony of Padua. The main picture is at Madrid, and the predellas are in English galleries. "La Madonna dei Ansidei" was painted for the Ansidei Chapel, and is now at Blenheim Palace, in fine preservation. It is in the Florentine manner, and includes a portrait of the venerable Bishop Nicholas de Bari. Two of its predella-pictures are in Italy, and the third is at Lansdowne House. Other works executed in 1505 were the "Pax Vobis," a small picture of the risen Christ, now in the Brescia Gallery; and a fresco of a child's head on a brick, which King Louis of Bavaria bought for a thousand scudi, and removed to the Munich Pinakothek. These were followed by his first mural painting, in the Carmelite Church of San Severo, representing the Holy Trinity, surrounded by angels, and blessing a group of sainted Carmelites. The grace and dignity of Angelico appear in this picture, whose arrangement was repeated in the famous Vatican fresco of "Theology."

Impatient to return to the prouder possibilities and freer criticisms of the great Tuscan city, and weary of the empty adulation of the provincial artists, he postponed orders from Atalanta Baglione and the nuns of Monte Luce, and left his work at San Severo half finished. Several years later it was completed by Perugino.

On his arrival at Florence, early in 1506, he found a new revelation of the power and possibilities of art in the two great cartoons then on exhibition, Leonardo da Vinci's "The Battle of the Standard," and Michael Angelo's "The Bathing Soldiers." These works, which have now disappeared, marked the culmination of the rivalry between the two great masters, and were designed for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio. They showed to the student of the tenderness and sweetness of the Umbrian school new realms of art, in which the canvas should exhibit scenes of vigorous and heroic life, and the intensity of the highest passions should be depicted in glowing colors. But, though permeated by these new thoughts, the artist refused to abandon the traditions of the last of the schools of Christian art, and would not throw himself into the strong current of paganized sentiment which was rising so rapidly about him.

He re-entered the coterie of artists and patricians which assembled at leisure hours in the house of Baccio d'Agnolo, the architect who was then supervising so many new buildings. Here he met Sansovino, Lippi, Cronaca, Majani, Granacci, the San Galli, and the great Angelo, and listened with deep interest to their discussions about the principles of art. Through his intimacy with certain wealthy merchants and nobles, he secured several orders for portraits, the best of which were those of the art-patron Angelo Doni, and Maddalena his wife. These are now in the Pitti Palace, and show warm coloring and careful finish, combined with poor drawing and timid execution.

Raphael next painted the celebrated "Madonna del Cardellino," or "Virgin of the Goldfinch," as a wedding-present for his friend Nasi, a frequenter of Agnolo's symposia. The Virgin is shown as seated in a graceful landscape, looking with unspeakable tenderness at the infant Jesus, who is about to caress a goldfinch held by St. John. This picture was sacredly preserved until the fall of the Nasi Palace, in 1547, when it was broken in pieces. Carefully repaired and restored, it now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Uffizi Tribune.

The artist next showed his appreciation of Taddei's courtesy, and his warm-hearted fellowship at Agnolo's reunions, by painting for him the famous pictures of "The Madonna in the Meadow," now in the Vienna Belvedere, and "The Holy Family at the Palm-Tree," in the Bridgewater Gallery at London. This Madonna shows Raphael's nearest approach to Leonardo's manner, and depicts the Virgin sitting in a flowery meadow, and holding the infant Jesus, who looks with sweet gravity at the kneeling St. John. "The Holy Family" shows the Madonna and Child near a palm-tree, with St. Joseph kneeling before them and offering flowers. The contemporary "Tempi Madonna" was painted for the Tempi family, and was discovered in their Florentine palace three centuries later, and sold to the art-loving and munificent King Louis of Bavaria for $16,000.

Early in 1506 Raphael journeyed Northward over the Apennines to the famous old city of Bologna, where he became intimate with Francesco Francia, "one of the most sincerely pious of Christian painters;" and painted "The Nativity" for Bentivoglio, the lord of the city. The busy artist next visited his native city, which had just been scourged by the plague. The peaceful and equitable reign of Guidobaldo had nevertheless increased the prosperity of Urbino, and enriched its palaces and people, so that his was the foremost among the minor Italian courts, whether in learning or morals, gayety or splendor. Among its members were Andrea Doria, the Genoese Admiral; the exiled Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Pope Leo X.; the soldier Ottaviano Fregoso, prospective Duke of Genoa; Federigo Fregoso, afterwards Cardinal-Archbishop of Salerno; the Count of Canossa, some time Bishop of Bayeux; the valiant and stainless Count Castiglione, whom Charles V. called "one of the best knights in the world;" the wise Bibiena, afterwards a cardinal and the light of Rome; and the scholar Bembo, who became cardinal under Leo X. Castiglione described the manners of the palace in "Il Libro del Cortigiano" (The Courtier's Book), several passages of which imply that Raphael was frequently present, and was highly regarded, at the discussions of the literati.

Henry VIII. of England had sent the Abbot of Glastonbury to Guidobaldo, with the order and insignia of the Garter; and the Duke showed his gratitude by despatching Castiglione with rich presents to the King, who received him at London with great pomp. Among the gifts was a small picture of "St. George and the Dragon," by Raphael, which afterwards passed through strange adventures, and is now in the Hermitage Palace at St. Petersburg, hung in the manner of an *ex voto*, over a perpetually burning lamp.

During this visit Raphael painted the long-lost portraits of Guidobaldo and his Duchess, the heir-apparent, Bembo, and others; and "The Holy Family with the Beardless St. Joseph," now at the Hermitage Palace. His first classic theme, and one of happy augury, was "The Three Graces," which was suggested by an antique group at Siena, and is now in Lord Ward's collection. The small "Orleans Madonna," lately bought by the Duke of Aumale for $30,000, is a pleasing work in the Florentine manner, with certain details afterwards added by David Teniers. The most interesting picture of this period was a portrait of the artist himself, now in the Uffizi Gallery, showing a pale and gentle face, full of nobility and earnestness, with brown eyes and hair, and a slender figure clad in plain black. Eastlake thinks that he remained at Urbino until autumn, when he met Pope Julius II., who came to the city with twenty-two cardinals and a brilliant retinue of halberdiers and men-at-arms.

Raphael set out on his third journey to Florence late in 1506, and paused on the way over the mountains, at the Tuscan Abbey of Vallombrosa, where he painted portraits of Blasio and Baldassare, eminent Benedictine monks. These pictures are now at the Florentine Academy, and show a spirited execution and severe correctness of drawing.

On reaching Florence he painted the valuable "Holy Family of the Canigiani Family," a pyramidal group composed of the Virgin and Child, with St. Elizabeth and St. John kneeling, and St.

Joseph leaning on a staff. It was presented to the Princess de' Medici on her marriage with the Elector Palatine, and is now at Munich. A contemporary work at Madrid shows the Virgin holding Jesus on a lamb, in a rich landscape; and another charming work of this season is the "St. Catherine" of the National Gallery, whose face is radiant with sacred peace and deep conservation.

Among Raphael's friends was the Dominican monk, Fra Bartolommeo, "the painter of devotion," who had renounced the profession of art at the instance of his friend Savonarola, burning his pictures on the great pyre of earthly vanities. After the reformer's martyrdom, he entered the Convent of San Marco, and gave himself up to the severest austerities. In 1506 his superior ordered him to resume his painting; but he labored in a feeble and perfunctory manner until he met the Urbinese artist, who gave him a fresh intellectual inspiration. In return, Bartolommeo instructed his friend in new modes of vivid coloring and rich arrangements of drapery, and taught him his system of grouping based on geometrical principles.

Early in 1507 the artist finished his studies for the picture ordered by Atalanta Baglioni, the grieving mother of the murdered Grifonnetto, but rejected them at last for an adaptation of Mantegna's composition on the same subject. The result was the majestic "Entombment of Christ," full of consummate skill and anatomical knowledge, which is now the chief ornament of the Borghese Palace, and has been studied for centuries. This was in the artist's second manner, in which he painted the long-lost "Madon na with the Pink," of which several charming copies remain; and the more spiritual "Madonna della Casa Nicolini," which is now at Penshangar in England. The year 1507 was mainly devoted to perfecting the study of the Florentine masters.

In the first half of 1508, Raphael executed "The Virgin with Jesus Asleep," of which one or two replicas remain; and the "Madonna di Casa Colonna," an unfinished work in the Berlin Museum. "La Belle Jardinière," the gem of the Louvre, and one of the noblest achievements of human art, came next in order, and was the last of his important Tuscan pictures. It portrays the Virgin in a flowery landscape, looking with intense maternal tenderness into the celestial eyes of the Child Jesus; and is pre-eminent for artless and idyllic grace and perfect harmony. Clement gives the origin of its name in a tradition that the model was a beautiful flower-girl, to whom the painter was much attached.

"The Madonna del Baldacchino" was one of his latest transitional works, and shows the influence of Fra Bartolommeo. The Virgin is on a high and canopied throne, pressing to her heart the Holy Child, who looks down on St. Peter and St. Bruno and other saints. It was ordered by the Dei family, but was not finished. Napoleon carried it away in 1798, and gave it to Brussels, whence it was restored to the Pitti Palace after 1815. Another beautiful but unfinished Madonna was presented by Pope Clement XI. to the Empress Elizabeth, and was included in the great Esterhazy Gallery, which was bought by Hungary in 1865 for the city of Pesth.

In April, 1508, Raphael wrote to his uncle Simone Ciarla, giving some details of his prospects, and asking that the new Duke of Urbino might send him a letter to the Gonfaloniere, by whose aid he could secure work in the Palazzo Vecchio. It seems that the young aspirant wished to measure strength with Leonardo and Angelo, on the very ground of their triumphs.

At this time Raphael was twenty-five years old, and his fame had spread throughout Italy. Leonardo was in his fiftieth year, and Angelo in his thirty-third; and both stood at the zenith of their fame. For three years Raphael had sojourned in Florence, where he had executed about thirty pictures, some of which were among his noblest works. Meanwhile he had passed through a marvellous change, as the solemn influences of the Franciscan pietists had given place to the hurrying conflicts of the city of Savonarola and the Medici. The spiritual mysticism and sweet unearthly devoutness delineated by the artist in his earlier years, had yielded to a brilliant realism and a fascinating display of color. The practical theories of the Tuscan valleys, peopled with busy myriads, foremost in arts of luxury and culture, and exulting in civic splendor, had triumphed over the solemn unworldliness of the Umbrian mountains, standing in the dim light which emanated from Assisi. The pallid and nun-like oval faces of Raphael's earlier Madonnas were replaced by types of a higher earthly beauty, in whom maternal affection often overflowed religious devotion; and the Virgin seemed to look on Jesus as her beloved child, rather than as her Divine Lord. The breezy landscapes and warm blue skies of his earlier works had been metamorphosed into elaborate architectural environings and richness of costume. The Syrian rustic had become a Florentine patrician.

Yet who shall say that this great change was not also a great advance? The pictures in the new manner show the Virgin as a tender human mother, with earnest impulses of affection, and expressions which are at once comprehensible and pleasing. The dry Peruginesque reverence has passed away; but a new element is added, appealing more surely to the universal human heart. And how great have been the gains in skill of draping, grouping, and coloring! The genius of the Urbinese youth, and the enthusiastic devoutness of his earlier training, had met and been influenced by the intense power of Angelo, the versatility of Leonardo, and the holiness of Fra Bartolommeo, whose most excellent traits were assimilated by his glowing spirit, to appear in the great works of the future.

Perhaps the Duke of Urbino had used his influence for Raphael at the Vatican itself; perhaps the Pope had seen and admired his works while at Urbino; perhaps his kinsman Bramante, the papal architect, invited him to better his fortunes under his own patronage. He was summoned to Rome about the middle of the year 1508, and immediately departed with great joy to the Eternal City.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Raphael at Rome from 1508 to 1513, under Julius II. — The Vatican Frescos. — Influence of Michael Angelo. — La Fornarina.**

In order to comprehend the state of affairs in Rome at this period, one must review its then-recent history. At the time of Raphael's birth, Italy was free from foreign invaders, and was ruled by several petty princes and despots, over whom the Papacy strove to exercise a central power. The evil and simoniac Pope Sixtus IV. was then in power, and crushed the Colonna family, intrigued against the Medici, betrayed Venice, laid Florence under interdict, and founded the Inquisition in Spain. The next Pope, Innocent VIII., reduced the standard of morals so low that for many months at a time there was an average of fifteen assassinations daily in the city. He was succeeded by the Spanish Borgia, Alexander VI., a vigorous ruler and able financier, but filled with crimes, perfidies, and obscenities, and controlled by his mistresses, Giulia Farnese and Vannozza. His illegitimate son, Cæsar Borgia, became the scourge of Italy, filling the land with carnage, poisoning the nobles and prelates, and abandoning the cities to rapine. France, Germany, and Spain invaded the peninsula with ferocious armies; Savonarola thundered from Florence against the desecrated chair of St. Peter, and the endless feuds of the Colonna and Orsini families reduced the Roman Campagna to a silent desolation. The land of the Madonna had become an Aceldama.

At the same time, in the quickening of intellectual life which war always brings, the Pagan revival was in full force at the brilliant little capitals of the principalities; and both art and literature advanced toward their culmination. Angelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto, were the resplendent names of this period of art; and the republic of letters was honored by the genius of Ariosto, Sannazaro, Bembo, Politian, and Acquaviva.

After the brief reign of Pius III., Cardinal della Rovere succeeded to the papal tiara, under the name of Julius II., in October, 1503. He was then advanced in years, but possessed indomitable energy and courage and considerable military skill. His court was the most brilliant in Europe, and he rigidly purified its morals. Many eminent scholars were attracted to settle near the Vatican by his wise and judicious patronage of art and letters. His absorbing ambition was for the glory and unity of Italy; and all political and military enterprises were devoted to freeing her shores from invaders. Julius attacked Venice with the ban of the Church and the armies of the League of Cambrai; and then opposed France with the decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council and the battalions of the Holy League. The armor of the knightly commander was more congenial to this heroic soul than the robes of the ecclesiastic.

The artistic enterprises which the active mind of Julius conceived were on a magnificent scale, and included the reconstruction of St. Peter's Church, the erection of a costly mausoleum for himself, and the enlargement of the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican to the dimensions of a city under a single roof. It was to be made the heart and centre of Christendom, and to contain not only the apartments of the Pope and his suite of nobles and prelates, ambassadors and courtiers, but also the offices and archives of the administration of the universal church.

The Pope received Raphael with cordiality upon his arrival at Rome, and commissioned him to fresco the hall of the judicial assembly called "La Segnatura." This was one of the four halls, or *Le Stanze*, which had already been decorated by Perugino, Francesca, and others. But the Pope was so astonished and pleased with Raphael's paintings in the first hall, that he commanded the destruction of the older works, in order that his new favorite might decorate the entire suite. The artist, however, preserved certain small works by Sodoma; and his reverence for his old master led to the retention of an entire vault which had been painted by Perugino. The Stanza della Segnatura was frescoed in 1508–11 by the master's own hand; the Stanza di Eliodoro in 1512–14, mostly by him; the Stanza dell' Incendio in 1514–17, by his pupils, and from his designs; and the Sala di Costantino in 1519–24 by his disciples, following his drawings. For the work in the first three halls, he received thirty-six hundred ducats. The frescos were seriously injured in 1527, during the sack of Rome by the imperial troops under the Constable Bourbon, when the rude soldiery built their camp-fires in the Vatican. About the year 1700 they were restored by Carlo Maratti, "the last of the Romans," but are now much the worse for age.

For the decoration of the august chamber of the Segnatura, the artist sought conceptions of lofty dignity, and resolved to enter a new domain in art, by portraying in colors such imposing allegorical themes as Dante and Petrarch had already developed in flowing verse. The designs were of broad expanse, and ingeniously adapted to the Procrustean requirements of the various walls. While the origination and execution of the work is due to the daring conception of the painter, it is also evident that the extraordinary display of erudition in the details of the Segnatura frescos is a mirror of the best thought of the contemporary papal court. The artist is known to have obtained advice and information on certain points from learned scholars and prelates then in the city; and he also wrote for counsel to his friend Ariosto, who was then at the court of Ferrara, engaged in the composition of the great epic of "Orlando Furioso."

The first of the Segnatura frescos was executed in 1508–9, and is called "Theology," or "The Debate of the Holy Sacrament," or "The Convocation of Saints." It is in two sections, representing the Church triumphant in glory, and the Church militant on earth. In the upper part is the Almighty Father, surrounded by a countless host of singing angels; and below Him is the enthroned Christ, with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. From these a half-circle of glorified prophets and apostles, sitting upon the clouds, extends out to the limits of the picture. Below the throne is the descending Dove of the Holy Spirit, flanked by cherubim bearing the gospels. The lower section is occupied by a semicircular line of prelates, with an altar in the centre on which the Holy Eucharist is exposed. Sts. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, the four Latin fathers, are nearest the altar, bearing their chief works; and in the groups beyond are a few laymen and schismatics, with Dante, Savonarola, and Fra Angelico, and a great company of illustrious saints. The admirable grouping, rich coloring, perfect harmony, and noble significance of this picture place it above all rivalry in the history of ancient or modern art.

"The School of Athens" was the next of the Segnatura frescos, and shows an assembly of fifty-two ancient philosophers in a magnificent vaulted hall, with Plato and Aristotle in the foreground, surrounded by their disciples. On the left is Socrates, with Alcibiades and others, and also Pythagoras, illustrating his harmonies, with Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and the Saracen Averroes. On the right are the Epicureans and Stoics, with Archimedes and Zoroaster, and other masters. Diogenes sits on the central steps; and the hall is filled with other groups of antique sages, correctly costumed and picturesquely disposed, with the traditional Tuscan symmetry of arrangement. The conception of this picture was daring and without precedent, and combines high poetic inspiration with remarkable precision of idealized portraiture. Passavant calls this "the most magnificent work the master ever produced."

"The Parnassus" occupies another side of the hall, and is surmounted by a sublime figure of Poetry, laurel-crowned, with soaring wings and star-strewn robes. Here Apollo is seen playing on a violin, under the laurels on the banks of the Hippocrene, and surrounded by the Nine Muses. On the left Homer is singing, and Dante and Virgil are in conversation; and in the foreground, near Sappho of Mytilene, the three lyric poets, Anacreon, Alcæus, and Petrarch, are talking with Corinna of Thebes. On the right are Pindar, Horace, and Ovid, with a group of mediæval Italian poets.

"Jurisprudence" is represented on the fourth side, over and around a window. On the left is the Emperor Justinian, with his jurists, founding the laws of the State by giving the Codex and the Pandects to Trebonian. On the right is Pope Gregory IX., with the features of Julius II., surrounded by cardinals, and establishing the laws of the Church by placing the Decretals in the hands of an advocate.

Some of the lunettes and ceiling-frescos were done by pupils, and show much inequality of execution; while the smaller historical scenes below were painted by Perino della Vaga, and add greatly to the general effect of elegance and unity. They are in the new process of chiaroscuro, an invention of Raphael. The leading merits of this great illuminated epic of humanity are purity and truth; and they show forth the influences of Leonardo and Bartolommeo, unaffected by the exaggerated grandeur of Angelo.

Ruskin says that in this hall the artist "wrote upon the walls the *Mene*, *Tekel*, *Upharsin*, of the Art of Christianity. And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation." But the mind which remains unprejudiced by the quaint conceits of Anglican mediævalism must rejoice at the emancipation of Raphael and his successors from the formal traditions of the epoch of the dawn of art, and their advance into the realms of higher beauty. Standing like a rock in the midst of the downward current of materialism and pseudo-archaism in art, Raphael refused to yield to the fascinations of these corrupting influences, and contented himself with a close and profitable study of pure antiquity, without sinking into base imitation and servility. He blent the art-ideals of the Church with the triumphant theories of the Greek sculptors, and thus conveyed "the golden treasure of the Christian spirit into the silver vessel of antiquity."

Until the Segnatura frescos were finished, Michael Angelo was engaged, in jealous seclusion, on the world-renowned frescos of the Sistine Chapel, which were not seen by his rival until they were publicly unveiled in 1512. Angelo was not friendly to his young competitor, and accused him of conspiring with Bramante to have him removed from the execution of the Sistine frescos, adding that "Whatever he knew of art he had learned from me." Though annoyed by this jealousy, which the great Tuscan also showed to many other artists, Raphael spoke highly of his masterly works, which were revealing new possibilities for art. Lanzi likens the rivalry of Raphael and Angelo to that between Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in its beneficial results in stimulating both artists to their highest efforts. The Florentine biographers, Vasari and Condivi, were townsmen of Angelo, and hence arose their disparagement of his rival. Nor did their victim have a chance to repel their attacks; for when their books appeared, he was in his grave. Vasari's work was published in 1550, under the title of "The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects." It was written in a quaint and attractive manner, but was based mainly on hearsay, and bristles with inaccurate statements and apocryphal anecdotes. Ruskin bluntly says that "Vasari is an ass with precious things in his panniers — but you must not ask his opinion on any matter."

During the first years of his life at Rome, Raphael lived in the four-story house which still remains at No. 124 Via Coronari, near the St. Angelo Bridge. Here he probably received his old master Perugino, who was at Rome from 1509 to 1512, and his early friends Pinturicchio and Signorelli. In September, 1508, he wrote a letter to his friend Francia, acknowledging the receipt of his portrait, and sending him a drawing of the "Præsepio," with a promise to forward his own portrait in return. He spoke of his intense activity, and alluded to the fact of his possessing pupils even at that early date. Soon afterwards Francia wrote in his honor a resounding laudatory sonnet, addressed "To the Zeuxis of our day."

In 1510 Marc Antonio Raimondi, of Bologna, the most famous engraver of ancient times, journeyed to Rome, and became closely connected with Raphael, who assisted him for several years. He engraved many of the artist's best works, not from the finished paintings, but from the drawings, aided by the master himself. By this means the ideas of the new school were spread far and wide over Europe; and the joint efforts of Raphael and Marc Antonio raised the art of engraving to an excellence which in some respects has never been surpassed. The plates were given to Baviera, the color-grinder for the studio, who derived great profits from their printing. Agostino Veneziano, Hugo da Carpi, Marco da Ravenna, and other artists also engraved Raphael's works, which were thus preserved in many duplicates. Prof. Müller of Düsseldorf has recently proved that Raphael was a *peintre-graveur*, like Dürer, and once made a remarkable plate of a Madonna.

During the three years of the Segnatura works, the master probably designed and left in various stages of progress numerous pictures, which he completed in rapid succession after that absorbing task was done. Eight of these inchoate compositions were finished in 1511. "The Annunciation" was ordered for Agamemnon Grassi, of Bologna, and has long since disappeared. The magnificent portrait of Pope Julius II. represents a mild and thoughtful old ecclesiastic, with bright eyes and a long white beard. It is now in the Pitti Palace, with copies in the Uffizi Tribune and elsewhere. The portrait of the chivalrous young Marquis of Mantua is now at Charlcote Park, near Warwick. The portrait of Raphael made at this time has disappeared, but that of his mistress has been in the Barberini Palace since 1642. She is a beautiful half-draped girl of passionate expression, with a circlet of gold and jewels on her hair, and a bracelet on her left arm bearing the name *Raphael Urbinas.* Another portrait, now in the Louvre, showing a blue-eyed and light-haired youth, is sometimes incorrectly called his own likeness. "The Alba Madonna," a very beautiful round picture on wood, and a favorite subject with copyists, was purchased in England, by the Emperor of Russia, for $70,000, and is now in the Hermitage Palace. "The Aldobrandini Madonna," now in London, is notable for its clear flesh-tints, and for the quiet coloring of the drapery and land scape.

The Madonnas of Raphael's Roman period are grander and stronger than those which he produced at Florence. He had now under his observation the stately women of Trastevere, who still claim to be the only descendants of the ancient Romans, and the magnificently formed inhabitants of the Campagna. Lanzi and Mengs attribute the grandeur of his third period, not to adaptations from other artists, nor yet to a close study of nature, but rather to his earnest contemplation of the antique, whose ideals at length became his inspiration. The gaunt figures of the Umbrian mountaineers were replaced by the noble dignity of Greek heroes and demi-gods. He was not satisfied with the study of the antique sculptures in Rome alone, but employed artists to copy the classical remains at Pozzuoli and other Italian towns, and even obtained transcripts of certain of the art-treasures of Greece. He forbade his pupils to make exact delineations of the actualities of their beautiful Italian models, establishing as a maxim that "We must not represent things as they are, but as they should be."

Eight pictures are referred to the year 1512. "The Loreto Madonna," after passing from Santa Maria del Popolo to Florence, and thence to the shrine at Loreto, disappeared during the storm of the French Revolution.

"The Madonna di Foligno" shows the Virgin and Child in a golden glory, among the clouds, with St. Jerome below, presenting the kneeling Sigismondo Conti, while St. Francis and St. John the Baptist are on the other side. Between these groups is a little naked angel, bearing a tablet; and the city of Foligno is seen in the background, with a bomb falling into it. This masterpiece is peculiar for its felicitous drawing, skilful chiaroscuro, and rich coloring; showing the influence of the gorgeous Venetian painters, one of whom, Sebastiano del Piombo, had arrived at Rome the previous year. It was a votive picture for Conti, the historian and Papal secretary; and in 1750 it was offered to the agent of the Elector of Saxony for $3,000, while the world-renowned "St. Cecilia" was offered for $18,000. The frugal commissioner haggled for a lower price, and lost both chances, to the great chagrin of his master. The picture was carried to Paris by Napoleon, but was returned to Italy after 1815, together with scores of other plundered pictures.

About this time the wealthy Agostino Chigi was leading the life of a Mæcenas, assembling at his sumptuous feasts the chief nobles, artists, and literati of Rome, together with the queenly Imperia and other fair women. Chigi was from Siena, and was the greatest ship-owner in Italy, besides being the operator of lucrative salt and alum mines in the Papal States. He was highly honored by Julius II. and Leo X. for his probity and patriotism; and became also a patron of literature, establishing a printing-press to reproduce the Greek classics. Peruzzi, "the Raphael of architecture," had built him one of the handsomest Renaissance villas in Rome, in the ancient gardens of Geta, on the Tiber; and it had been frescoed by Sebastiano, Razzi, and Romano. As early as 1510, Raphael designed for Chigi two classic goblets, which were executed in bronze by Cesarino. The noble patron afterwards commissioned him to erect and decorate chapels in the churches of Santa Maria del Popolo and Santa Maria della Pace, the former of which was built by Pope Paschal II., in 1099, on the spectre-haunted site of the grave of Nero. It contained the magnificent mausoleums of several patrician cardinals; and Chigi ordered Raphael to build a similar sepulchre-chapel for him. This work was carried on slowly and fitfully, until the deaths of both artist and patron, which occurred in the same month. Raphael drew several of the cartoons; and the mosaics for the dome, showing the Creator and the heavenly luminaries, were executed in 1516.

It is incontestable that Raphael was strongly influenced by the sight of Angelo's Sistine frescos. He commenced similar works, in fields new to his pencil; and the Prophets and Sibyls, and the decorations of the Chigi chapel, show the effects of this fresh impulse. Several of his drawings from the Sistine frescos are still preserved, and show that he had begun on Angelo's works the same process of analysis and appropriation which he had previously applied to those of Masaccio, Bartolommeo, and Leonardo.

In 1512 John Gorizius of Luxembourg, a friend and patron of the Roman artists, placed a marble group of the Virgin and St. Anna in the Church of St. Augustine, and ordered Raphael to execute a fresco of the Prophet Isaiah above it. Vasari says that after filling this order, the artist saw Angelo's Sistine frescos, and was so displeased at the weakness of his work that he erased it, and repainted the subject in the grander Angelesque manner. Another tradition says that Gorizius was dissatisfied with the price, and asked Angelo about it, who examined the work, and replied, "The knee alone is worth the price demanded."

Later in 1512, the master painted the portrait of a beautiful and richly attired woman, which is now in the Tribune at Florence. It was long supposed to represent La Fornarina; but later critics demonstrate that it is some other lady; either the admirable Vittoria Colonna or the improvisatrice Beatrice of Ferrara. Another picture of great merit is that of Raphael's friend Bindo Altoviti, a blue-eyed youth of twenty-two, famous for his beauty, and the owner of palaces in Rome and Florence. This is the finest piece of coloring that the master ever accomplished; and Bottari calls it equal to Titian's richest work.

Among the portraits sometimes attributed to

Raphael's Roman period, are those of Cardinal Pucci, now in Scotland; Cardinal Borgia, at the Borghese Palace; Cardinal del Monte, formerly in the Fesch Gallery; Cardinal Passerino, at Naples; and Cardinal Polus, at St. Petersburg. Passavant gives a list of over one hundred and fifty doubtful pictures which have been attributed to the great master, some of which are copies by his pupils, retouched by his own hand, or possibly genuine productions which are without definite authentication. "St. Luke Painting the Virgin," was probably designed and partly executed by Raphael. It is at the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, and shows the kneeling apostle depicting the heavenly vision, with Raphael himself observing his work.

The marvellous variety and noble dignity of his Madonnas appear still further at this time in the Madonna of the Bridgewater (Ellesmere) Gallery, which is famous for its beautiful modelling. "The Madonna with Jesus Standing," in Lady Burdett-Coutts's collection, is now much injured and worn. "The Holy Family of Naples" is a well-preserved specimen of the artist's best work, and is called by the Italians, "La

Madonna del Divino Amore." The design for "The Madonna dell' Impannata," a beautiful domestic scene, which was probably executed by Giulio Romano, dates from this period. It was painted on an order from Bindo Altoviti, for a present to the city of Florence, and is now in the Pitti Palace.

The history of the domestic and private life of Raphael is wrapped in obscurity, or confused with conflicting traditions. There is no doubt that during the early part of his sojourn at Rome, he was passionately in love with a certain fair Margherita, to whom he addressed three graceful sonnets. Vasari says that Raphael remained attached to her until he died. Certain German scholars have maintained that he had an intrigue with a potter's daughter in Urbino, who afterwards dwelt with him at Rome. But Misserini gives the statement of a MS. discovered by the Abbé Cancellieri, that she was the daughter of a baker in Trastevere, famous for her beauty, even in that dwelling-place of physical perfection, so that the youths often watched her from over the wall of her father's garden. There Raphael first saw her, while she was bathing her delicate feet in a fountain; and when he was made acquainted with her, and found that the perfections of her mind equalled the charms of her person, he became completely infatuated, and henceforth knew peace only in her presence. The name *La Fornarina* refers to the occupation of her father, the baker (*fornajo*), but is of late origin. It should be noticed that Passavant throws doubts on the whole story of Raphael's love-life, and Hare repudiates it utterly.

The gossiping Vasari says that when the master was painting the first floor of the Chigi Palace, he was so much occupied with his inamorata that the work of decoration received but scant attention. Chigi at last began to despair of its accomplishment, and, in order to keep the artist on the scene of his labors, he persuaded the lady to take up her abode in the palace, in rooms near the new paintings. When Raphael was thus accommodated, and could have her all day on the platform by his side, the work went on bravely, and reached a successful termination. The old chronicler adds, quaintly enough, "He was much disposed to the gentler affections, and delighted in the society of women, for whom he was ever ready to perform acts of service. But he also permitted himself to be devoted somewhat too earnestly to the pleasures of life, and in this respect was perhaps more than duly considered and indulged by his friends and admirers."

In the winter of 1512–13, the master painted the famous "Madonna del Pesce," which Eastlake assigns as the closing work of his second manner, and Viardot ranks as co-equal with the Sistine Madonna, and even as surpassing that masterpiece in the expression of its figures. It represents the ideally lovely Virgin, seated on a throne, and holding the radiant Child, who rests His hand on an open book proffered by St. Jerome To these approaches Tobit, who is led by an angel, and comes to implore a cure for his father's blindness. The name *del Pesce* (of the Fish) refers to the fish which Tobit carries. Tobit's prayer alludes to the destination of the picture, which was for a famous chapel at Naples, containing the crucifix that once spoke to St. Thomas Aquinas, and resorted to by persons afflicted with diseases of the eyes. Another allusion was to the fact that the Church had recently acknowledged the canonicalness of the apocryphal Book of

Tobit, which St. Jerome translated. The Peruginesque devoutness and Raphaelesque grandeur of this picture are illuminated by a clear and vigorous coloring. It was forcibly carried to Spain in 1644, and to France in 1813. After being skilfully transferred from wood to canvas, it was restored to Madrid in 1822.

From 1512 to 1514, Raphael was engaged in the second Vatican hall, *La Stanza di Eliodoro*, which had been frescoed by Francesca and Bramantino of Milan. Their paintings contained many portraits of eminent men, and were copied by Raphael's pupils before they were destroyed at the Papal order. The antique decorations in gold and grisaille, forming the frame-works, were left intact; and in order to give his pictures a lighter appearance, the artist imitated stretched canvas. The epic cycle represented in this hall is that of the divine protection and ultimate triumph of the Church. The frescos on the ceiling show scenes from the Old Testament, — Jehovah appearing to Noah, Jacob's Vision, Moses at the Burning Bush, and the Sacrifice of Isaac.

"The Miraculous Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple at Jerusalem" was the first large mural painting, and gives its name to the hall. It represents the angels attacking Heliodorus as he was removing the widows' fund from the Temple, at the order of King Seleucus. A great fear falls on the assembled multitude as the robber falls before the lightning-like rush of the golden-armored angels, while his minions fly from the swift celestial vengeance. On one side is an anachronistic group composed of Pope Julius II. and four assistants, two of whom are Giulio Romano and Marc Antonio. This vigorous composition illustrates the principle of God's protection of the Church against its enemies, and the interpolated papal group refers to Julius's expulsion of his enemies from Rome. The picture is full of inimitable expression and dramatic fervor, and shows not only the richness of the new Venetian coloring, but also the freedom of the picturesque school, with its disregard of details and its skilful handling of broad masses of light and shade.

"The Miracle of Bolsena" is the second great fresco, and portrays the tradition that in the year 1264 a Bohemian priest of Bolsena doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation, but was convinced by the miraculous flowing of blood from the

Host while he was celebrating mass. This was the origin of the festival of Corpus Christi. The chief features of this grand picture are the terrified and repentant face of the priest, the agitated surprise and varied gestures of the crowd, and the blazing wrath of Cardinal Riario. Herein also are shown the two great antagonistic forces of the sixteenth century, in the richly arrayed Pope and Cardinals, and a group of honest and phlegmatic Swiss guardsmen below. The deadly battle between Italian priests and German soldiers, which has not yet ceased, was then about to begin.

When Raphael is spoken of as a colorist, the pictures of the Expulsion of Heliodorus and the Mass of Bolsena are usually referred to. They are called the most richly colored frescos in the world, and have been preferred to the best works of Titian or Andrea. The other pictures in this hall illustrate a different *regime*, and are described farther on.

On the 22d of February, 1513, Rome was plunged into profound grief by the death of Pope Julius II. His last words crystallized the grand idea of his long and heroic life, — "Far from Italy all the French, far from Italy all the barbarians.'

## CHAPTER V.

The Accession of Leo X. — Raphael's Palace and his Friends. — Paintings in 1513–14. — Appointed Architect of St. Peter's. — Maria da Bibiena.

THE wise and courageous Julius II. was succeeded by the brilliant and lavish Leo X., who strove to advance the interests of his family, and to make Rome the literary and artistic capital of Christendom. He had long been famous as a generous patron of letters; and his palace on the Piazza Navona had been the rendezvous of authors. He received the tiara at the age of thirty-nine, on the 19th of March, 1513. Leo was of the very flower of the illustrious Medici family, and exhibited all their refined taste, urbane manners, liberality, and erudition. His extravagant munificence towards the disciples of the higher arts led him to give over one hundred thousand ducats a year in presents; and his table consumed half the revenues of Romagna.

The easy-going epicureanism of this dull-eyed and thick-lipped Primate was a representative production of the Neo-Pagan Renaissance, in which Latinity was more important than orthodoxy; the immortality of the soul was held as an open question; and sermon-writers substituted the name of Jupiter for Jehovah. The revival of the study of classic art and literature passed into a perfect delirium among all classes. Even the evil traits of the ancients were admired and copied, and the puerilities of the Silver Age were held up for imitation. The study of the Pagan philosophers, which had become the life of Florentine society, was transplanted to Rome; and the Pontiff himself headed the re-action from the dry subtleties of the schoolmen to the enlivening theories of the Neo-Platonists. Prophets and sibyls, apostles and demigods, were given equal rank in the new system, and Olympus and Olivet were confused and united.

Among the chief writers of this barocco age were the graceful Venetian idyllist Navagero and the Latin historian Paulo Giovio, both of whom were born in the same year as Raphael. The Latin language was also used in Vida's epic of the "Christiad," Politian's "Sylvæ" and

"Nutricia," the austere Sadoleto's "Laocoön," Castiglione's elegies, Pantanus's amorous eclogues of Southern Italy, and Canisio's orations Sannazaro added to his elegies the "Arcadia" and the "Partus Virginis," to which he devoted twenty years. Bembo wrote delicious odes after the manner of Catullus, and amatory songs; and Frascatoro treated didactically of unspeakable themes. This strange literary amalgam soon passed into a condition of unworthy license, so that even Erasmus stigmatized its followers as "apes of Cicero."

If the literature and politics of the day were corrupt and heathen, the vices of society were worse than heathen. The simoniac cardinals vied in lewdness; and the Pope derived amusement from seeing monks tossed in a blanket, and the foot-races of naked men. The treasures of the Church were wasted for banquets, pagan frescos, classic villas, and other vanities. Through this city of luxury and lust wandered the fair-haired pilgrims from Germany and Britain, who had come on religious journeys to the capital of Christendom. With wide eyes they observed, and with grieving hearts they returned to the

North, and prepared Transalpine Europe for the Reformation. Yet different men saw the Papal court in varying lights. Luther called Leo's Rome "the sink of all abominations;" but Erasmus praised the light and freedom of "that radiant city."

Raphael was favorably received by the new Pope, and was retained at his labors in the Vatican. He was already intimate with several of the leaders of the court, and was conformed to the drift of Roman sentiment. Yet, from the nature of his occupations, he was in little danger of being swept into the full current of the general decadence.

In 1513 the well-beloved monk-artist, Fra Bartolommeo, came to Rome, and was bewildered with the grand works of Michael Angelo and his former comrade. He was hospitably received by Raphael, to whom he had long been dear. Bartolommeo began the paintings of St. Peter and St. Paul, which are now in the Quirinal Palace, but, being unfavorably affected by the air of the Campagna, he returned to Florence. While Raphael was finishing his friend's pictures, two cardinals visited the studio, and complained of the redness of the apostles' faces. To whom Raphael made answer: "You need not be surprised. I have given them that color after much deliberation; for it may well be supposed that the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul must blush as deeply in heaven as in these pictures, on seeing the Church governed by such men as you."

In 1513 Leonardo journeyed from Milan to Rome, with five pupils, and was gladly received by Raphael, who had learned so much from his works; but Michael Angelo showed a marked hostility to the new-comer, and embarrassed him so seriously that he left Rome the next year.

The poet Ariosto was also now in the Eternal City, seeking the patronage of the new Pontiff, and doubtless often met his old friend Raphael. But Leo gave him only smooth words and compliments; and the disappointed poet left the city, never to return.

Raphael tried in vain to bring to Rome his early companions and dear friends Alfani and Ghirlandajo. The latter shared the fanatical patriotism of the Florentines to such an extent that he could not be persuaded to go beyond sight of the cathedral-dome; and Alfani was now hampered by family cares.

Albert Dürer, the famous artist of Nuremberg, was for many years a correspondent of Raphael, whom he resembled in personal beauty, amiability, versatility, and strong imagination. They exchanged several drawings, Dürer sending a number of sketches, with a portrait of himself ingeniously done in water-colors on linen; while Raphael returned a red-crayon study of naked men, and other drawings.

The great master was now not only renowned and honored, but also wealthy; and he erected for himself a small palace, facing the Square of St. Peter's. He drew the plans, and Bramante supervised their execution, which was finished in 1514. The ground floor was of rustic architecture, with five entrances; the main floor was Doric, and the entablature severely antique; while the façade was adorned with a line of papal portraits. Landon gives thirty-two plates from a set of pictures illustrating Apuleius's fable of Cupid and Psyche, with which he was said to have adorned the palace. Some of these subjects are very voluptuous, and Passavant declines to accept them as the conceptions of Raphael.

The amiability and sweetness of the artist's character secured him many warm friends, besides the admirers who were drawn to the light of his genius. Among these were the learned and benevolent Count Castiglione, the envoy of Urbino, for whom he painted two portraits, showing a refined face with blue eyes and a manly beard. Another was Pietro Bembo, the Papal secretary, who restored the careful finish of Italian literature, but was less scrupulous in private life. To this circle of comrades belonged Andrea Navagero, the Venetian historian, and the poet Beazzano, both of whom were portrayed on one picture by Raphael, of which a good copy remains in the Doria Palace. Sannazaro, the Neapolitan poet, was a member of the coterie; and also Tebaldeo, the Ferrarese poet. The master made a portrait of the latter in 1516, of which Bembo wrote to Cardinal Bibiena: "Raphael has just painted our friend Tebaldeo with so much truth that he himself does not more resemble himself than this painting resembles him." Other intimates of this group were Baldassare Turini, President of the Chancery; and Branconio dall' Aquila, for whom Raphael painted "The Visitation," and made plans for a palace opposite

St. Peter's. One of his chief protectors was the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Archbishop of Florence, a serious and earnest prelate, who afterwards became Pope Clement VII. For him the master painted "The Transfiguration," and designed the Villa Madama, on Monte Mario. Among the other cardinals, Bibiena and Riario were the best patrons of the artist.

The friendship and mutual assistance of Raphael and Bramante remained unbroken. The latter wrote and presented to his illustrious *protégé* a treatise on the proportions of men and horses; and, at a later day, caused him to choose which of the competing wax-models of the Laocoön was worthiest of perpetuation in bronze.

The frescos of the Hall of Heliodorus were left half-done at the death of Julius II., and were finished during the first two years of Leo's reign. The third in the succession of these great mural paintings was "Attila Repulsed from Rome by Pope Leo I.," illustrating the legend that when Attila was leading the Huns against Rome, in the year 452, St. Leo rode forth to meet him, warning him to beware of the fate of Alaric, who had offended St. Peter by plundering his holy city. At this juncture St. Peter and St. Paul appeared in the clouds, waving flaming swords, which so terrified the barbarian King that he hastily concluded a peace, and led his army out of Italy. In the centre of the picture the fear-stricken Attila is seen, riding a fiery black horse, while his savage hordes are filled with dismay, the trumpets are sounding retreat, and the armor-clad horses are neighing in terror, with the brilliant apparitions above, and a wild hurricane raging on the plain. To this scene of panic and confusion, approaches the calm and dignified St. Leo, riding on a white mule, and surrounded by plump cardinals and prelates. This is one of the best frescos of the master, both in richness of color, accuracy of drawing, picturesque grouping, and powerful execution. Leo X. had his own portrait painted for the victorious Pope, in allusion to the recent expulsion of the French from Italy, when the troops of the league formed by Rome, Henry VIII. of England, Maximilian of Austria, and Ferdinand of Spain, defeated the armies of France in several battles; and Colonna destroyed their Venetian allies at the battle of Vicenza.

The last of the Heliodorus frescos was "The Deliverance of St. Peter," which is in three sections. The first shows the aged saint in prison, sleeping between two mediæval men-at-arms, with a shining angel appearing to free him; in the second the angel leads the awe-stricken Peter through the slumbering guards; and in the third the alarmed soldiers are awaking. The two first are lit up by the resplendent angel, and the third by a torch and the young moon, giving a novel and effective variety of lights reflected from armor and relieved by deep shadows, which excited great praise in Italy. The covert allusion of this fresco was to the wonderful escape of the new Pope, when he was taken prisoner by the French army at the battle of Ravenna.

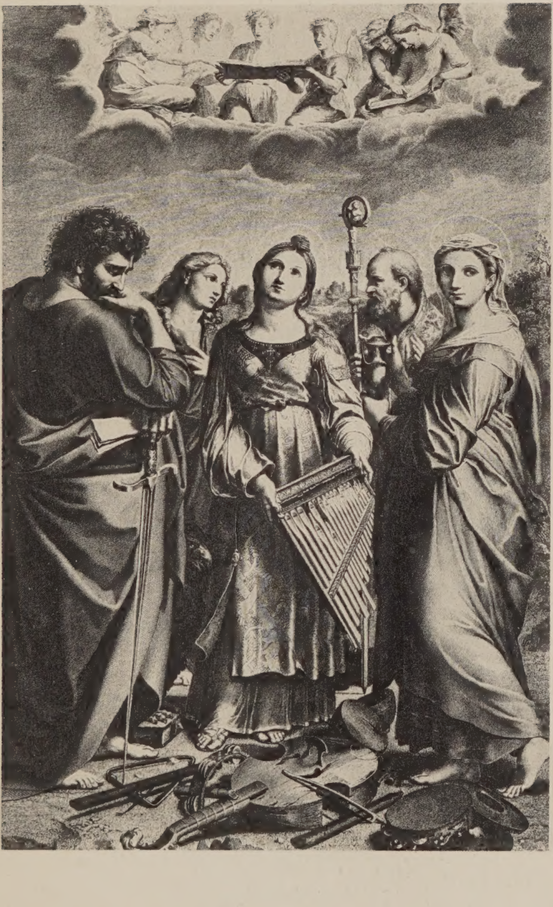
The Church of Santa Maria della Pace was erected in 1484, in memory of the efforts of Pope Sixtus IV. to restore peace to Christendom. Here, at Chigi's order, Raphael ornamented a chapel with the Sibyls and Prophets, which Burckhardt claims as "the best calculated among all his frescos to attract the admiration of the spectator." The mysterious prophetesses of antiquity, the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, and

Tiburtine Sibyls, are here depicted with a gentleness and grace which contrast finely with the grandeur of Angelo's Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel. The Prophets, Daniel and David, Hosea and Jonah, are of inferior merit, and were probably painted by Timoteo della Vite, from the cartoons of the master. Cinelli relates that after Raphael had secured an advance of a hundred scudi for this commission, he made a further demand of Giulio Borghese, Chigi's cashier. But the dry and practical man of business demurred, supposing that a sufficient compensation had already been made. The artist then demanded that the work should be appraised by an expert; and Borghese invited Michael Angelo, supposing that his jealousy would lead him to depreciate it. As the great Florentine was contemplating the fresco in silence, Borghese questioned him, and he replied, "That head alone is worth a hundred scudi, and the others are not worth less." When Chigi heard of this scene, he ordered the cashier to pay a hundred scudi for each of the remaining heads, saying, "Go and give that to Raphael in payment for his heads, and behave very politely to him, so that he may be satisfied; for if he insists on my paying also for the drapery, we shall probably be ruined."

The fresco of "Galatea" was executed in 1514, in a hall of the Chigi Palace, and is a very beautiful work. It represents the fair and undraped goddess gently sailing in a conch-shell, guided by Love and drawn by dolphins, with tritons and centaurs bearing the nymphs, and flying Cupids shooting arrows into the throng. In a letter to Castiglione, Raphael says, "To paint a figure truly beautiful, I should see many beautiful forms. But good judges and beautiful women being rare, I avail myself of certain ideas which come into my mind."

In 1513 the master painted an interesting portrait of the portly librarian, Phædra Inghirami of Volterra, "the Florentine Cicero," a *protégé* of the Medici, and then bearing the titles of Count Palatine and Bishop of Ragusa. During the year 1514, the master executed the pictures of Giuliano de' Medici, both of which are now lost, leaving only copies to attest their former existence. The portrait of Cardinal Bibiena shows a middle-aged, thin-visaged ecclesiastic, with bright black eyes and an Italian physiognomy. The Cardinal bequeathed it to Count Castiglione, the ambassador to Spain, and it is now in Madrid. The picture of Castiglione which is now at the Louvre is one of the master's best works in portraiture, and represents a strong and pleasing face.

In 1513 a noble lady of Bologna heard celestial voices commanding her to erect a chapel in honor of St. Cecilia. She built the shrine at the Church of San Giovanni in Monte; and her kinsman, Cardinal de' Santi Quattro, ordered Raphael to paint an altar-piece for it. The picture represented St. Cecilia, and was displayed in the chapel in 1517, awakening the liveliest enthusiasm in Bologna. It was consigned to the artist's old friend Francia, who was requested to correct or repair it, if necessary; but tradition says that he died at sight of it, being heart-broken at the thought of his own hopeless inferiority. The holy Cecilia is richly clad in cloth of gold, and stands foremost among the grand figures of St. Paul and St. John, St. Augustine, and St. Mary Magdalene. She is looking upward, with a face filled with ineffable ecstasy, and listening to the harmonies of the angels in the heavenly city. Nagler says, "It



is full of calm devotion, like the solemn long-drawn tones of old church melodies;" and Goethe adds, " There are five saints there side by side, who in no wise concern us, but whose existence is so perfect that we wish the picture could continue forever, until we also are ready for departure."

"The Vision of Ezekiel" was painted about the same time, for a gentleman of Bologna, and is now in the Pitti Palace. It is a representation of Jehovah, seated in an intensely brilliant glory, surrounded by cherubim. A picture of "The Nativity" was executed during the year, and sent to the Count Canossa, at Verona, who refused great sums for it; but all traces of this work are now lost.

Early in 1514, Raphael was admitted into the Fraternitas Corporis Christi, a rigid ecclesiastical society of the most high-church Catholicity, devoted to an especially scrupulous participation in the Eucharistic sacrament. From this fact, it is justly inferred that he was an earnest believer in the doctrines and ceremonials of the Catholic Church, and that his Madonnas were tributes of spiritual love, as well as triumphs of artistic skill.

In March, 1514, Bramante, being about to die, recommended the Pope to appoint Raphael as his successor in the office of Papal architect. The Papal nomination was couched in the most flattering terms, saying: "To Raphael of Urbino: Besides the art of painting, in which you are universally known to excel, you were, by the architect Bramante, equally esteemed for your knowledge in that profession; so that, when dying, he justly considered that to you might be intrusted the construction of that temple which by him was begun at Rome to the Prince of the Apostles; and you have learnedly confirmed that opinion, by the plan of the temple requested of you. . . . Let your efforts correspond to our hope in you, to our paternal benevolence towards you, and lastly to the dignity and fame of that temple, even the greatest in the whole world and most holy; and to our devotion for the Prince of the Apostles."

His deep interest in the new work appears in his letter to Castiglione: "Our Holy Father has laid a great burden on my shoulders, in giving me the superintendency of the building of St. Peter's. I hope, indeed, that I shall not sink under it. . . . I would fain revive the beautiful forms of the buildings of antiquity, but I know not whether the fate of Icarus is before me." Yet Raphael's share in the construction of the great Basilica was unimportant, on account of the diversion of the funds intended therefor to the expenses of the war with Urbino, and the costly splendors of the Papal court. His only service was to strengthen the four columns on which the dome was intended to rest, by enlarging their slender foundations with a series of piers and arches.

In 1514 he restored and gave a new portico to the venerable Church of Santa Maria della Navicella, on the Cœlian Hill. He also completed the Loggie in the Court of San Damaso, at the Vatican, which is one of the most beautiful palace-courts ever constructed. He designed the rich palace of Branconio dall' Aquila, and several other houses in the Borgo San Pietro; the Casa de' Berti, a hewn-stone structure in the Borgo Nuovo; the Villa Madama; and the still beautiful Palazzo Vidoni. His buildings were among the finest of the century, showing a notable richness and picturesqueness, while at the same time appreciating the effect of grand masses and harmonious arrangement. The master devoted much time to the study of the treatise on architecture which Vitruvius, the imperial superintendent of buildings, wrote at the request of Augustus Cæsar. He had a translation of this book made into Italian by the venerable scholar Marco Fabio Calvio of Ravenna, who was kept tenderly and generously in his palace until his death.

At a later day Raphael secured the publication of a Papal brief commanding the citizens of Rome and its environs for ten miles out to submit to his inspection all the hewn stone and marble which should be discovered in that district. This order accomplished the double end of providing a great quantity of stone for the works on St. Peter's, and of saving from destruction many curious antiques. In point of fact, he performed the duties of a director of antiquities.

It was probably about this time that Raphael turned his attention to sculpture, in which he attained some success, having executed the fine statue of Jonah for the Chigi chapel, and modelled the statue of Elias for the same place. He also designed a group of a wounded child borne by a dolphin through the waves, which was put into marble by Lorenzetto under his supervision The original is lost, but the plaster model is at Munich, and a handsome copy in marble is at Down Hill, in Ireland. Certain ancient writers have stated that the master at one time devoted himself to the decoration of maiolica and porcelain, but there is now no authentic proof of this statement.

In July, 1514, Raphael wrote the following letter, which illustrates his position and prospects: "To my uncle, dear to me as a father, Simone di Battista di Ciarla da Urbino . . . I have already property at Rome to the value of three thousand ducats of gold, and an income of fifty ducats. Then His Holiness, our Lord, has proposed to me some works in the Church of St. Peter, with a salary of three hundred ducats of gold, which will not fail me as long as I live. This is not all. Besides this, they will pay me for my work whatever may seem right to me. The paintings also in another hall that I have undertaken will produce twelve hundred ducats of gold. Thus, my dear uncle, I am doing honor to you, as well as to my other relations, and to my native town. I bear you continually in my heart, and when I hear you mentioned it seems as if I heard my father named. . . .

"I had left off speaking of my marriage, but return to it, to tell you that the Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico [Bibiena] wishes to give me one of his relations, and that with the consent of my uncle the priest, and your consent, I have placed myself at the disposal of his Lordship. I cannot withdraw my word; we are nearer than ever to the conclusion. . . . As to my sojourn at Rome, I cannot, for the love of the works at St. Peter's, remain long elsewhere, for I have at present the place of Bramante. And what city in the world is worthier than Rome, and what enterprise greater than St. Peter's, the first temple in the world? It is the greatest building ever seen, and will cost more than a million of gold. The Pope has granted sixty thousand ducats a year for the works, and he thinks of nothing else. He has given me as a colleague a very learned father, of at least eighty years of age, and who has not long to live. His Holiness gave me this man of great reputation and great learning for a colleague, that I might profit by him, and, if he has a noble secret in architecture, that I might learn it also, and thus attain perfection in the art. His name is Fra Giocondo. The Pope sends for us every day, and speaks to us for some time about the works."

The lady to whom Raphael alluded in this letter was Maria da Bibiena, daughter of the nephew of Cardinal Bibiena; and it has frequently been intimated that the young man was reluctant to consummate the marriage. Some say that his assent was won by the influence of the Cardinal, and without consulting the dictates of his heart. But in point of fact the rich artist was in a position to help the prelate, rather than to be benefited by him. The humble and submissive tone in which he speaks of the engagement was characteristic of his time and country, where marriages were usually arranged by the elders, and the candidates for the union adapted themselves to the situation. It is certain that this engagement was formally renewed in 1515, and that it was in force at least as late as 1517. It has been suggested that Raphael was waiting to fix his fortunes on a sure foundation before marrying a patrician lady. Another theory, and perhaps the most probable, is that Maria was of a very delicate constitution, and that the delays were made in her favor. The absurd Vasari claims that the postponements of the nuptials arose from the artist's hope of being made a cardinal, in recompense for the money which the Pope owed him. The death of the Lady Maria occurred before that of the master, and put a short end to all their hopes and plans.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Vatican Decorations. — The Stanza dell' Incendio. — The Loggie and the Tapestries. — Architectura. Works and Drawings. — Raphael's Pupils.

THE Apostolic Palace of the Vatican was in those days the most splendid palace in the world, as it is still the largest. The genius of Bramante had given it an expression of architectural unity by uniting its scattered sections; and the Popes had been enriching its surroundings for over a century with decorations by the leading artists of Italy. When the gold-work was undimmed, the colors unfaded, the marbles fresh, and the stuccos in their pure whiteness, these great halls must have appeared like the courts of Paradise. It is too often forgotten by visitors at Rome, that the vicissitudes of three hundred years have wrought sad damage to many of these paintings; and hence a feeling of disappointment often rises when the pilgrim stands before the stained and faded remnants of the art of the sixteenth century. Sir Joshua Reynolds confesses that he felt deeply humiliated because of his inability to appreciate Raphael's Vatican frescos at first sight. But he was consoled on being assured by artist-friends and by the officers of the palace, that this feeling of disappointment was almost always felt at first, even by men of cultivation and connoisseurs in art. He relates how he studied and copied the frescos, and forced himself to affect an admiration for them, until at last he had come to understand and venerate these high excellences of art. He thereupon naturally concludes that a relish for the best style of paintings, as well as for poetry or music, is an acquired taste, demanding time, attention, and hard work. It will be remembered that even Taine opened a rattling fire of persiflage on Raphael's works at the Vatican, during his first visit; but after longer study he grew interested and then fascinated, and ended by echoing old Vasari's most high-flown panegyrics on the painter of Urbino.

The Loggie of the Vatican consist of a series of open arcaded galleries, three stories high, which were erected by Bramante and Raphael around three sides of the Court of San Damaso. The celebrated frescos called "Raphael's Bible" were executed for the decoration of the middle story, which formed the passage to the papal apartments, and commands an exquisite view over the colonnade of St. Peter's, the Leonine City, and out to the blue Sabine Mountains. There are thirteen arcades, each of which contains four pictures, whereof forty-eight are drawn from the Old Testament, and four from the life of Christ. The city was filled with admiration during the progress of this grandly conceived work, which was destined to attest to subsequent generations the glory of the golden age of art. The depth of poetic imagination displayed in this illuminated epic of the Church is combined with a rich and charming fancy and a sustained strength of execution.

The Loggie were painted in 1514–16. Raphael made the sepia sketches for the pictures, which were executed by Giulio Romano, Penni, Vaga, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and others of his best pupils. In order to enrich the cloister to the highest degree, the master brought to Rome the Florentine engraver of gems, Giovanni Barile, who carved all the woodwork; the younger Luca della Robbia, who paved the floor with colored and enamelled earthen tiles, imitating a carpet which bore the Papal arms; and other skilful artificers. Even Vasari said of the completed decorations, "It is impossible to execute or to conceive a more exquisite work."

The subjects of the frescos are as follows: First Arcade, Separation of Light from Darkness, God creating the Dry Land, Creation of the Sun and Moon, Creation of the Animals. Second Arcade, Creation of Adam and Eve, the Fall, Exile from Eden, Adam and Eve at Work. Third Arcade, Noah building the Ark, the Deluge, Egress from the Ark, Noah's Sacrifice. Fourth Arcade, Abraham and Melchizedek, God's Covenant with Abraham, Abraham and the Three Angels, Lot's Flight from Sodom. Fifth Arcade, God appearing to Isaac, Isaac embracing Rebecca, Isaac blessing Jacob, Esau claiming his Birthright. Sixth Arcade, Jacob's Ladder, Jacob and Rachel at the Well, Jacob asking Laban for Rachel, Jacob returning to Canaan. Seventh Arcade, Joseph telling his Dream, Joseph is sold, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, Joseph interprets Pharaoh's Dream.

Eighth Arcade, Finding of Moses, the Burning Bush, Passage of the Red Sea, Moses smiting the Rock. Ninth Arcade, Moses receiving the Decalogue, Adoration of the Golden Calf, Moses kneeling before the Pillar of Cloud, Moses giving the Law to the People. Tenth Arcade, the Crossing of the Jordan, the Fall of Jericho, Joshua bidding the Sun to stand still, the Division of Palestine. Eleventh Arcade, Samuel anointing David as King, David and Goliath, David conquers the Syrians, David sees Bathsheba. Twelfth Arcade, Consecration of Solomon, Solomon's Judgment, the Queen of Sheba, Building of the Temple. Thirteenth Arcade, Adoration of the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism of Christ, the Last Supper. It was Raphael's design to have frescoed the other arcades on this story with scenes from the New Testament and the lives of the saints; but his premature death prevented its achievement.

The Loggie are also ornamented with quaint grotesques and bas-reliefs in stucco, executed by Giovanni da Udine, who had been a pupil of the Venetian Giorgione, and excelled in depicting animals and birds, flowers and fruits. He was a favorite disciple of Raphael, with whom he made several artistic excursions. It is related that they once explored together the newly discovered Baths of Titus, and were surprised at the freshness and beauty of the antique stucco ornaments found among the ruins. Giovanni analyzed this material, and formed a composition of marble, travertine, and chalk, which presented the same appearance. Working the new compound into skilful designs, he produced ornaments equal to the antique; and proceeded, under the master's superintendence, to decorate the Loggie with them.

*La Stanza dell' Incendio* was the third of the halls which Raphael frescoed in the Vatican. The work was begun in 1514, and finished in 1517. The theme for celebration in this series was the era of the glory of the Papacy, and its victories over all adversaries. By a remarkable coincidence, during the very years when this proud record was being emblazoned on the walls of the Vatican, the transalpine nations were seething with discontent, the flames of the Reformation were beginning to crackle, and the Roman hierarchy was hurrying towards the most fearful catastrophes in its history. The secession of the northern kingdoms from the spiritual control of the Pope, and the sack and destruction of the Eternal City by the imperial army, occurred within ten years. Martin Luther was born in the same year as Raphael, and visited Rome at nearly the same time. In 1517, while the Italian artist was closing his illustrations of the victories of the Pontiffs, the Saxon monk nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of Wittenberg church, and led the exodus of the Gothic nations from the Roman Church.

The first fresco in the Stanza dell' Incendio is "The Oath of Leo III.," which was designed by Raphael, and painted by Perino della Vaga. It portrays the marvellous scene in St. Peter's Church, in the year 800, at the trial of the Pope by the Emperor Charlemagne on charges preferred by the nephews of Pope Adrian, when the solemn conclave was startled by a supernatural voice proclaiming that no mortal could be allowed to judge the Pontiff. The second fresco is "The Coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III.," and alludes also to the recent alliance between King Francis I. and Pope Leo X., whose portraits are seen in the faces of the two principal personages of the picture.

"The Burning of the Borgo" is the third in the series, and delineates the great conflagration which swept the Saxon and Lombard quarter of Rome in 847, aided by a wild hurricane, until Pope Leo IV. arrested its further advance by his prayers. The genius of the master is shown here in its full strength, in the groups of fugitives, the flying women, and the falling buildings. Here also he boldly enters into rivalry with Michael Angelo in portraying nude forms of both sexes, in powerful attitudes. There are more undraped figures here than in any of his other pictures. The allusion is to the devouring flames of war which menaced Italy in 1515, after Francis I. had defeated the Swiss allies of Milan at Marignano, slaying fifteen thousand of their soldiers. The diplomacy of Leo X. then saved the peninsula from further invasion.

"The Victory of Leo IV. over the Saracens at Ostia" shows the Italian fleet destroying the invading Moslem squadron in the port of Rome. The Pope, with the features of Leo X., is on the shore, engaged in prayer, and is attended by Cardinals de' Medici and Bibiena. In the foreground a terrific naval battle is going on, in the midst of a tempest which God had sent to scourge the hostile armada. This is an emblematic representation of the danger of Europe from the Sultan Selim, the Ferocious, who had conquered Persia, Turkestan, Armenia, and Egypt, and ravaged the Italian coasts with his cruisers.

The cartoons for the ten tapestries were executed by the master in 1515–16. These rare productions of the artist's brain and the weaver's loom were to be used in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel on high festivals, according to a plan originated by Raphael and approved by the Pope. The early Florentine artists had adorned the chapel with subjects from the life of Moses, to which Michael Angelo had added his wonderful pictures of the prophets and sibyls, and the history of the human race. The new works continued the series by a pictorial history of the Apostles; and Angelo at a later day finished it by his terrific "Last Judgment."

The first tapestry is "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes," showing the majestic Saviour seated in a fishing-boat, in a beautiful lake and landscape scene, while He says to the prostrate and humiliated Peter, "Fear not: from henceforth thou art a fisher of men." The second is "Christ's Charge to Peter," with the white-robed Lord pointing with one hand to the kneeling Peter, and with the other to a flock of sheep. Back of Peter are the other Apostles, with a town in the distance, and a cove of the Lake of Gennesaret on the left. The third is "The Martyrdom of St. Stephen," showing the false witnesses hurling stones at the kneeling saint, who with ecstatic upward gaze cries out, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." The fourth is "The Healing of the Paralytic," where St. Peter and St. Paul are entering the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, between twisted columns of amazing richness, and Peter says to the blind beggar, "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk." The fifth is "The Death of Ananias," with the false and abject Ananias expiring under the judgment invoked by the tranquil and austere St. Peter. The sixth is "The Conversion of St. Paul," representing Saul the persecutor prostrate before the heavenly vision, while his companions are fleeing in terror. "Elymas Struck with Blindness" shows the hostile Cretan magician, tottering in the total darkness which has been brought upon him by the denunciation of St. Paul, while the enthroned proconsul, Sergius Paulus, gazes in astonishment upon the dramatic scene. "Paul and Barnabas at Lystra" illustrates the wrath and sorrow of the miracle-working disciples, when the grateful Lystrans were about to offer sacrifices to them as Jupiter and Mercury. In "St. Paul Preaching at Athens," the inspired Apostle is seen standing on the steps of the Areopagus, and addressing groups of attentive and curious philosophers. The splendid Greek architecture in the last two pictures is accurately drawn, and indicates the artist's familiarity with the antique. "St. Paul in Prison" shows the Apostle praying in his cell, while the walls are shaken by an earthquake. "The Coronation of the Virgin" was a representation of Christ on His throne, crowning the Madonna, with the Father and the Holy Spirit in a glory above, and St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist below. This was the closing canto of the great illuminated song of the Church, manifesting the glorification of the Holy Trinity, and the resplendent honor of the Mother of God.

In these tapestries the master showed how well he apprehended the radical ideas of early Christian history, and how carefully he adhered to the facts of the Apostolic annals, without interpolating arbitrary accessories. They are marked by true and devout expression, a close following of traditional types, and an ennobling harmony of arrangement. Quatremère de Quincy calls them "the climax, not only of the productions of Raphael, but of all those of modern genius in painting."

The superintendence of the weaving was given by the master to his Flemish pupils, Bernard van Orley and Michael Coxcie. They were despatched to Arras, in Flanders, where the looms were established. The completed tapestries weighed four hundred and fifty pounds each, and were skilfully and richly wrought in wool, silk, and gold. They were exhibited in the Sistine Chapel in 1519, amid the enthusiasm of the people, but were seized and carried away to Lyons eight years later, when Charles V. reduced Rome. The Constable de Montmorenci sold them to Pope Julius III. in 1555. During the French invasion of 1798 the set was stolen again, and sold to certain Jews, who proposed to burn them for the sake of the gold, but were unsuccessful in their first attempt, and disposed of the remaining pieces to some Genoese merchants. Pope Pius VII. bought them in 1808, and replaced them in the Vatican. There they are now preserved, in one of the large upper halls, much soiled and faded, and otherwise injured on account of the deterioration of the non-mineral colors.

The cartoons or models for the tapestries were paintings in distemper, filled in on chalk sketches on strong paper. They were twelve feet high by from fourteen to eighteen feet long, with figures above life-size. Seven of these are now sacredly preserved in the South-Kensington Museum. They were bought at Arras, in the strips into which they had been cut by the weavers, by King Charles I., on the recommendation of Rubens. During the English Revolution Cromwell purchased them for the nation, giving $1,500 for the set, at the auction of the property of the executed king. William III. had them affixed to canvas and hung in a hall erected for the purpose by Sir Christopher Wren, at Hampton-

Court Palace. These seven cartoons represent the stories of the Miraculous Draught, the Charge to Peter, the Paralytic, Ananias, Elymas, and St. Paul at Lystra and at Athens. They are preferred by some English connoisseurs to any other of Raphael's works, as showing ease, simplicity, and grandeur of thought, unhampered by the mechanism of elaborate painting. They are yearly studied and admired by many thousands of people, and have frequently been copied in engravings.

A duplicate set of these tapestries was made at Arras, and presented to Henry VIII. of England by the Venetian Republic. After the execution of Charles I. it was taken to Spain by the Duke of Alva, but returned to London some decades since, where it was purchased by the King of Prussia for the Berlin Museum. Another set was presented by Leo X. to the Elector of Saxony, and six of its pieces now hang in the rotunda of the Royal Gallery at Dresden. Another set was bequeathed to the King of France by Cardinal Mazarin, and was seen at Strasbourg in 1770 by Goethe. Still another was kept in the Church of Santa Barbara, at Mantua until 1783, and has recently been carried to Vienna.

It is said that Raphael also designed ten rich tapestries from scenes in the Old Testament, which were presented to Chartres Cathedral by Bishop de Thon; but these have disappeared.

The master executed several smaller frescos during 1515 and the early part of 1516. He prepared the design for "The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia," which was painted either by himself or one of his best pupils in the chapel of the Pope's hunting castle, La Magliana. In 1830 this work was ruined by an act of Vandalism on the part of the farmer Vitelli, who wished to attend service in the chapel without coming in contact with the peasantry, and cut a gallery through the centre of the picture. The remains of the fresco are now at the Louvre.

"The Marriage of Roxana" is a fresco representing the magnificent Roxana, sitting on the edge of a bed, with Alexander approaching and about to crown her. Ephestion and Hymen are behind, and Cupids carry away Roxana's veil and slippers, and play with the weapons and armor of the hero. This picture was painted in the building in the Borghese Park which was afterwards called the Villa Raphael. In 1845 it was fortunately removed to the Borghese Palace, for the Villa Raphael was destroyed in the revolution of 1848.

In the winter of 1515–16 Leo X. visited Florence, intending to erect a splendid façade on the Church of San Lorenzo. He summoned the chief architects of Italy to compete on the plans; but Michael Angelo afterwards refused to allow their participation, and secured the work himself. The Pope required that only Tuscan marble should be employed, and before the roads could be built to the remote quarries, the church-funds were exhausted, and the façade was never erected. During the competition, Raphael visited Florence, and submitted a rich and picturesque design. While he sojourned in the Tuscan capital he executed the plans for two of its most symmetrical palaces, one of which was for Pandolfini, Bishop of Troy, and the other was for the Uguccioni family. The first is seventy feet wide, with Tuscan columns on the lower floor and Ionic columns above, an admirable classical entablature, and a beautiful triple arcade opening on the inner gardens. The Palazzo Uguccioni is on the Grand-Ducal Square, and is of rustic architecture below and Ionic and Corinthian above, combining richness and simplicity.

About this time, at the order of Leo X., he made careful drawings, with measurements and descriptions, of the buildings of ancient Rome which then remained. Of this work Michiel said that whoever inspected it might be said to have seen the city of the Cæsars, so correctly were the forms, proportions, and ornaments depicted. Many of the buildings therein delineated have since been destroyed, and the drawings of Raphael have not been seen since the sack of the city in 1527.

After returning to Rome, in April, 1516, the master was overburdened with orders, and was compelled to decline some, and permanently postpone the completion of several promised works. All the time which he could spare from his great works was cheerfully given to his pupils and friends. The fecund genius of the great artist was not exhausted by the multiplicity of his works; and he made hundreds of sketches and drawings in pen, pencil, crayon, sepia, and bistre, treating widely varying subjects with the sprightly play of his fancy, or the deeper seriousness of close study. The minute care with which his works were planned is shown by the many sketches made for each. Some of his drawings were given as mementos to friends, and others as models to pupils, and are now preserved in the galleries of Europe. The engravings of Marc Antonio have retained the forms of others, in some cases retouched on the plate by the master's own hand. His designs were scattered broadcast over the Continent by the labors of the industrious engravers, to the great increase of Raphael's fame. Among the chief collections of his original drawings may be mentioned that in the Uffizi at Florence, with over 40 specimens; and 100 in the Venetian Academy. France has 36 in the Louvre, and 42 in the Wicar Gallery at Lille. Germany has 150 in the Albertina at Vienna, 10 at Berlin, and 10 at Frankfort. England has 20 in the Royal Collection, 14 in the National Gallery, and about 50 in the palaces of her nobles. The University Galleries at Oxford contain about 140 original drawings. Among the most famous collections was that of

Sir Thomas Lawrence, which contained 160 drawings of Raphael, valued at $75,000.

Raphael's devotion to his pupils was one of the most beautiful features of his character, and resembled the warm interest of an elder brother. They were not only inspired by his genius, and indoctrinated in his methods of study and thought, but were furnished with frequent opportunities for honorable independent work. The wonderful productions of the master, and his inexhaustible imagination, aided and stimulated them to emulate the careful observation, close attention, and minuteness in details, which had rendered him capable of such rapid and well-sustained work. One of these disciples asked him how he had been able to produce so many pictures in so short a time; and he replied, "From my earliest childhood I have made it a principle never to neglect any thing." No other master has ever been able to control and influence so great a number of talented men, even such as might have aspired to become his rivals, but were content to be his pupils and friends. The proverbial jealousies of artists were unknown among the dwellers in his studio, their only emulation being to increase his advantage, and to heighten the glories of the school of Raphael. Vasari attributed this peculiar power of the master to his exquisite courtesy and willingness to accommodate; traits which were soon reflected among the pupils, and became the prevailing law of the studio.

The Roman school was thus formed, with its foundation on the ideal and the classic; and its main attributes may be stated as judiciousness of invention, chasteness of composition, and quietness of coloring. It gave great promise of future achievements; and Lanzi, the learned historian of art in Italy, says that "if Raphael's maxims had remained unaltered, Italian painting would probably have flourished for as long a period as Greek sculpture." The destruction of the school came all too swiftly, when its members were scattered in distant cities by the untoward events at Rome, and deprived by isolation of the advantages of joint study and advancement. The causes of the dispersion were the accession to the Papacy in 1520, of the austere and iconoclastic German, Adrian VI.; the desolation of the pestilence, in 1522; and the sack of Rome, in 1527, after which the ruined and desecrated city lay for years in a profound stupor.

Among the leaders of the school which Raphael founded with such earnest care were Giulio Romano, a noble designer and poor painter; Gianfrancesco Penni of Florence, called Il Fattore, most of whose works have disappeared; Timoteo della Vite, a rich and delicate colorist; Perino della Vaga, who excelled in designing; and Giovanni da Udine, whose pictures of birds and flowers, arabesques and ornaments, are truly exquisite. These five were the favorite assistants of the master, and painted many pictures from his drawings, and in concert with him. Among the other artists of this school were Polidoro da Caravaggio, Pellegrino da Modena, Bagnacavallo, Biagio Pupini, Gaudenzio Ferrari, San Gimignano, and Il Garofalo.

# CHAPTER VII.

Raphael's Paintings in 1516, 1517, and 1518. – The Madonnas at Florence. — The Sistine Madonna. — The Chigi Frescos.

In the year 1516 the master finished the Loggie and the Sistine tapestries, and continued the decoration of the Stanza dell' Incendio. He received at this time new honors from the Pope, and an enlargement of his authority in regard to the public buildings of Rome and its antiquities. The details of his personal history and private life at this important period of three years are of the most meagre and unsatisfactory description, and leave us to infer that his time was devoted to studio-work, secluded from the world of events.

In the spring of 1516 he made a series of sketches for his warm friend and would-be kinsman, Cardinal Bibiena, who then inhabited the third floor of the Vatican. They were for the decoration of his bath-room, and the order stated that they should represent the omnipotence of Love in Nature. The first sketch was "The

Birth of Venus," showing the fair Aphrodite rising from the foam of the sea, radiant with life and beauty. The next represents Venus and Cupid seated on dolphins, and riding through the wide sea. Then she appears resting under a tree, and pressing her hand upon a wound in her breast inflicted by Cupid, who reclines near her in easy unconcern. Again, she is seen drawing a thorn from her right foot, while the blood flowing from the wound stains the white rose to a perennial redness. The room was decorated in the antique style, with seven frescos painted on a reddish-brown ground, in grotesque frames, below which were seven victorious Cupids. The extraordinary character of these ornaments in the apartments of a prince of the Church, at the central shrine of Christendom, is feebly explained by Passavant by a reference to the passion of the court of Rome at that time for the antique and classical. The bath-room pictures met with a great and immediate success, and were frequently copied and engraved. They are now nearly obliterated.

Three famous Madonnas date from 1516. "The Madonna della Sedia" is now in the Pitti

Palace, and is one of the best-beloved works of Raphael. It represents the Virgin seated in a chair (*sedia*), with graceful striped drapery on her head, encircling the Holy Child with both arms, and bending a face of indescribable sweetness against His beautiful head. The infant St. John is below, in adoration. The shape of the work is round; and it is eminent for clear and luminous color and skilful chiaroscuro. The religious idea is here overflowed by a boundless wealth of maternal love and filial affection; and, in this aspect, it is one of the most fascinating achievements of art. Copies and engravings have been distributed in myriads throughout the world.

"The Madonna della Tenda" is somewhat similar to the picture previously described, and derives its name from a curtain (*tenda*) in the background, before which the sweet and saintly Virgin sits, holding the Divine Child, with the adoring St. John below. It was bought by King Louis of Bavaria for $25,000, and is now in the Munich Pinakothek. "The Madonna with the Candelabra" passed from the Borghese Gallery to that of Lucien Bonaparte, thence to the Duke of Lucca, and thence to London. The face of the Virgin is filled with noble dignity and majestic calm, and her eyes are cast down in modest humility. It is after describing this work that Gruyer repels the oft-repeated charge that Raphael's Roman Madonnas are pagan, as compared with those of Florence and Umbria.

In the year 1517, Raphael concluded his works in the Stanza dell' Incendio, and enjoyed a respite from the arduous tasks of the Apostolic Palace. During the twelvemonth he executed several easel-pictures.

"Christ Bearing his Cross" is called "*El Extremo Dolor*" by the Spaniards, in allusion to the last agony of the Saviour, and "*Lo Spasimo*" by the Italians, after the church for which it was painted. It represents the Redeemer sinking under the weight of the cross, amid a crowd of Roman soldiers; while He turns to the women who follow after, and says, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me; but weep for yourselves and for your children." The picture is a masterpiece, perfect in arrangement, strong in dramatic unity, filled with life and energy, and pathetic in the display of divine majesty blent with human agony in the face of the Saviour. This was the only representation of the Passion which Raphael made during his maturer years, and was entirely executed by his own hand. According to some critics, it is equalled only by "The Transfiguration." It was painted for the Sicilian convent-church of Santa Maria dello Spasimo, and was despatched to Palermo by sea. But the vessel was lost, with all on board; and nothing was recovered but this picture, which floated into the harbor of Genoa, uninjured by the winds and waves. The Sicilian monks reclaimed it; but the exultant Genoese refused to surrender their prize, until the Pope himself intervened. It is now at Madrid.

"The Madonna of the Pearl" represents the loving and tender Virgin holding Jesus on her knees, while He reaches out His hands toward St. John, who is offering Him fruit. St. Elizabeth and St. Joseph are also present, — forming a group which illustrates the joys of domestic life. The soft violet tones and minute finish of this work evince great care and precision. It was designed and retouched by the master, and mainly executed by Giulio Romano, at the order of the young Marquis of Mantua. Transferred to the gallery of Charles I. of England, after his tragic death Philip IV. of Spain secured the work for $10,000. Upon receiving it, the sovereign cried, "This is my pearl;" and it has ever since retained that name, and is now one of the gems of the Madrid Museum.

"The Visitation" portrays the aged St. Elizabeth joyfully saluting the Virgin with the words, "Blessed art thou among women;" while in the background St. John is seen baptizing Jesus in the River Jordan. It was painted at the order of Branconio for a church at Aquila, in the Abruzzi Mountains, and was held in such reverence that no one was allowed to copy it. This was transferred to the Spanish Escurial in 1655, and was carried to Paris by Napoleon, and returned to Madrid after the peace of 1815.

"The Holy Family under the Oak-tree," and "The Holy Family with the Rose," are also in Spain, and were executed from Raphael's sketches and by his pupils. The former is somewhat stiff in its composition, and was painted probably by Francesco Penni. "The Holy Family of the Passeggio" has disappeared; but a copy which cost $15,000 is now in the Bridgewater Gallery, at London. "The Repose in Egypt," "The Virgin in the Ruins," and other pictures of doubtful authenticity, are described by Passavant.

The architectural and antiquarian studies of the master were now bearing rich fruit, in his reports to the Pope, and his careful drawings. He had been aided and accompanied in many excursions by the erudite Count Castiglione and the antiquarian Andrea Fulvio, who also gave him wise counsel with regard to his reports, and helped him to trace the plan of ancient Rome from its ruins and the descriptions of the Latin authors. He wrote also a manuscript on the subject of art, with copious historical notes; which is now lost, much to the grief of modern scholars.

In 1518 the master was free from the engrossing works at the Vatican; and he therefore devoted his time to the preparation of seven religious pictures, five portraits, and the large frescos in the Chigi Palace. "The Archangel Michael" shows a striking and admirable contrast between the ideal grace of youth and heroism, in the young champion, and the dark and grovelling figure of Satan, hideous in its deformity. The angel descends like lightning, and disdainfully crushes the demon to the flaming earth, while he raises his spear with both hands, in the act of striking. Louis XIV. placed this picture over his throne at Versailles, as a symbol of the royal power victorious over the insurgents in the wars of the Fronde.

"The Large Holy Family of the Louvre" is also called *La Vierge de Fontainebleau*, and is the largest work on this subject that Raphael ever painted. It shows the Virgin raising Jesus from the cradle, while the kneeling St. Elizabeth is teaching St. John to adore Him, and St. Joseph is wrapped in meditation. This chaste and simple scene illustrates the bliss and the devotion of the Holy Family, in the grandest and most harmonious style of the master, with a noble grouping and purity of manner. Quatremère de Quincy calls it "the *chef-d'œuvre* of all Raphael's Holy Families."

These two pictures were designed and retouched by Raphael, but Giulio Romano did most of the painting. Art-critics maintain that no part of the "St. Michael" came from the master's pencil, except the original sketch, but concede that the "Holy Family" was from his hand, and was one of his finest works. They were presented to Francis I., the King of France, by Lorenzo de' Medici, who had recently possessed himself unjustly of the Duchy of Urbino, and wished to secure the protection of the King in his usurpation. During the summer the pictures were sent overland on mules, by way of Florence and Lyons, to the royal palace at Fontainebleau. Great was the rejoicing in the court of France over these wonderful works, which surpassed all expectations. It is said that the prodigal Francis rewarded the master so munificently that he entreated him to accept another picture as a present, to which the King made answer that men celebrated in art shared the immortality of great kings, and might treat with them as equals.

"St. Margaret" represents a noble and beautiful maiden, bearing the palm of martyrdom, and treading on a horrible dragon, in allusion to her victory over the temptations of the world by the power of faith. It was drawn by Raphael, and painted by Romano, and was sent to Francis I.

The "St. Margaret" in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna is very similar to that in the Louvre. "The Small Holy Family of the Louvre" shows Jesus standing in the cradle, supported by the Virgin, and caressing the cheeks of St. John, who is held by St. Elizabeth. Raphael made the design, and Romano painted it. The master presented it to Cardinal de Boissy, his friend at the court of France.

In 1518 Raphael painted his finest work in portraiture, a picture of Pope Leo X., with Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterward Pope Clement VII.), and Cardinal Lodovico de' Rossi, Leo's nephew and inseparable companion. This work is now in the Pitti Palace, and shows the truth, style, execution, and coloring of the master in their best aspects. It portrays the white-robed and venerable Pontiff, sitting in an arm-chair and holding an illuminated breviary, with a rich pile of architecture in the background, and the attendant cardinals at the sides.

The portrait of the peerless blonde, Joanna of Arragon, was executed for Lorenzo de' Medici, who sent it to Francis I., a great lover of beautiful women. It is supposed that Raphael painted the exquisite head, and Romano the rest of the picture. This sweet patrician lady was the daughter of the Duke of Montalto, and the wife of Prince Ascanio Colonna, Constable of Naples. She was one of the most famous wits and beauties of her century, and the heroine of many adventures in prison and in war. It was of this rare damosel that Cardinal Colonna wrote, "But in our time, Nature, the generous creator, wishing to show the world something marvellous, perfect, and resembling the immortals, has created Joanna Arragonia Colonna."

At this time also he executed a portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, Gonfaloniere of Florence, and Duke of Urbino, whose daughter, the famous Catharine de' Medici, married Henri II. of France. The original picture is lost, but a copy remains at Montpellier, showing the Medici features and a rich mediæval costume. Of the many other portraits which Vasari attributes to the master, some are now lost, and others appear unworthy of his pencil.

The famous and well-preserved picture of "The Violin-Player" is probably a portrait of Andrea Marone of Brescia, — a successful young improvisatore, and a favorite of the Pope. It represents an intellectual face, with large eyes and brown hair, and a well-shaped head. It is in the artist's best manner, and appears to have been a labor of love. This picture was recently purchased from the Sciarra-Colonna family by Lord Russell.

The celebrated portrait of Raphael's mistress, now in the Pitti Palace, shows a beautiful Roman maiden, with a pale oval face, lustrous black eyes, and smiling lips. She is sumptuously dressed in a gold-trimmed bodice, white damask sleeves, and a gracefully draped veil. When compared with the picture of the same maiden painted ten years before, this face shows a wonderful increase in intelligence and animation, such as might be expected in one who had been so long intimate with one of the noblest of minds. Some critics are even of the opinion that these two portraits are of different women; and others see in the face of the Sistine Madonna an ennobled and idealized copy of this portrait.

"The Madonna di San Sisto," more commonly called the Sistine Madonna, and sometimes also the Dresden Madonna, bears the latter name on account of its present location, and the others because St. Sixtus is the most prominent of the secondary figures in its composition. The Virgin is seen standing on the clouds, in the midst of an immense glory composed of myriads of cherubs' heads, with green curtains drawn away at the sides, giving her the appearance of a miraculous revelation in the heavens. She looks out of the picture with large sweet eyes, in deeply-shadowed rings, and has an expression of combined majesty and melancholy, modesty and innocence. The Child Jesus bears a remarkable resemblance to her, as He rests in her arms in a simple and childlike attitude. His divine face is marked by compressed lips, dilated nostrils, and strong and contemplative eyes which look out into the heart of the reverent visitor. St. Sixtus kneels on the left, in a white tunic and gold-colored pallium bordered with purple, and is praying for his people, to whom he points, while with ecstatic face he regards the Madonna. On the right is the kneeling St. Barbara, with her hands folded on her breast, and her face, filled with love and charity, looking down on the assembly of the faithful. In the lower part of the picture are two cherubs, of celestial beauty and innocence, leaning on a balustrade, and looking upward.

"This sublimest lyric of the art of Catholicity" was the last work which Raphael completed with his own hands, and appears to have been dictated by a divine inspiration, as an apotheosis of his genius. From this, more than from any other work, he receives his title of "The Divine." Its rare simplicity and sublime ideality unite with a certain unearthly sweetness and supernatural elevation to produce the religious enthusiasm arising in the soul which rightly views the picture. It was after contemplating this work, that Correggio exultingly exclaimed, "I too am an artist!" — as if earth knew no nobler men than those who could thus surpass and look beyond nature, and portray the divine mysteries.

The Sistine Madonna was painted in 1518 for the Benedictine Monastery of San Sisto, at Piacenza, from which it was purchased in 1754, by Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, for $40,000. It was received at Dresden with great pomp, and placed in the reception-hall of the Electoral

Palace, where the throne of Saxony was displaced in order to give it the best-lighted position. Without doubt, it is the finest picture in the North of Europe. It is distinguished for a certain pyramidal symmetry, and for its construction according to the ancient law of the *sectio aurea.*

Later in 1518 the decoration of the Chigi Palace occupied the attention of Raphael, who drew a series of twelve cartoons for the frescos on the ceiling of the lower hall. The subject was Cupid and Psyche, after the fable of Apuleius, and the pictures represent: — The jealous Venus urging her son Cupid to punish her rival, the beautiful Psyche, by inspiring her with love for an unworthy mortal; the enamoured Cupid shows Psyche to the Three Graces; Venus in the presence of Juno and Minerva, searching for Psyche, who had been led away by Cupid, and afterwards abandoned when she broke his commands by looking at him while he slept; Venus hastens to Olympus in her dove-chariot, to secure Jupiter's assistance; she implores him to send Mercury to aid her; Mercury flies forth in search of Psyche; Venus torments her by imposing

arduous tasks, which she accomplishes, even bringing up a vase from the infernal regions; she lays this trophy before the astonished Venus; Jupiter consents to Cupid's union with Psyche; Mercury carries her to Olympus; Cupid vindicates himself before the assemblage of the gods, and Psyche is given ambrosia, and becomes immortal; the gods celebrate the nuptial banquet, while the Three Graces pour perfumes over Psyche, and the rose-crowned Venus prepares to dance. One of the Three Graces is the only painting here by Raphael's own hand; and his pupils fell far short of that high achievement, and finished the work heavily, without delicacy, and in coarse tints.

The "St. John the Baptist in the Desert," now in the Florentine Tribune, was prepared about this time for Cardinal Colonna. It represents a youth of fifteen, seated on a mossy rock, near a spring, in a desert land. He is partly clad in a panther's skin, and holds a scroll in one hand, while with the other he points to the luminous rays which stream from a rude cross. This picture lacks several elements of the master's best style, but became very popular, and was frequently reproduced. It is worthy of mention that this work, the Sistine Madonna, and the banner for the Trinità Church, were the only paintings which Raphael put on canvas, all the remaining easel-pictures being on wood.

King Francis I. gave Raphael an order for twelve cartoons from subjects in the life of Christ, for the tapestries which he presented to the Pope. This royal gift was exhibited for many years in St. Peter's Church, and is now in the Halls of Pius V., at the Vatican. Raphael made sketches for most of these works, but completed only one, "The Massacre of the Innocents," showing three scenes in the horror of Bethlehem, and powerfully expressing the despair of the mothers and the brutality of the soldiers. His pupils finished the other cartoons after his death, incorporating the drawings of the master. They represent the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Resurrection of Christ, Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene, Christ in Hades, Christ at Emmaus, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and a labored allegory of the Papacy.

# CHAPTER VIII.

Raphael's Last Two Years. — His Personal Appearance **and Surroundings.** — "The Transfiguration." — Death of Raphael. — His Rank among Artists.

ANTON SPRINGER says that "no artist's life passed so completely and immediately in artistic work as Raphael's. The essence of the beautiful seems indeed to have belonged to him as a personal quality." The world brought to him only joy, and he returned as he had received. He had escaped the poverty and the vicissitudes through which most men of genius struggle upward, and was even shielded from the malignity of hostile criticism. Living in the era of Italian anarchy, he was delivered from its horrors; and the free lances and grim battalions of Borgias and Bourbons shattered each other throughout Tuscany and Lombardy, while he passed his short May-life in depicting and delivering his tender and harmonious message to humanity.

His physical frame was feeble and delicate, yet symmetrical. He was five feet and eight inches high, with slender arms and chest, firmly built legs and feet, and a long neck. His head was small and shapely, with heavy masses of long brown hair, a beardless face of an olive complexion, tender brown eyes, a large and well-shaped nose, full lips, and an unbroken set of perfect teeth. His features were not regular, but agreeable, and had an expression of grace and sensibility. This delicate and flexible beauty, charming with its open sweetness, was the fair index to a soul at once gentle, chivalrous, self-sacrificing, and free from jealousy.

He was now wealthy, and owned a palace in the city and a villa beyond the walls, and was accustomed to dress richly, after the manner of the Roman court, whose urbane manners he had also made his own. Vasari says that he lived not as a painter, but as a prince. Though his carefully finished sonnets are not remarkable as poetic productions, the correspondence with Castiglione and other scholars shows that his general cultivation was of a high order. His hopes of attaining the rank of a cardinal were now at their highest, according to some accounts, and he was already chamberlain to the Pope. Besides the noble friends and patrons before alluded to, he had acquired new intimates and an advanced social rank. The correspondence between Cardinals Bembo and Bibiena shows in what great esteem the master was held by both these prelates, and with what friendship he honored them. As an attractive man of the world and an acute judge of human nature, he found means of meeting men of rank on a plane of equality, and thus advancing the interests of his profession.

He was prompt to decline the munificent offers of Francis I., who wished to make him the court-painter of France, though even Leonardo da Vinci was happy at being called to that brilliant court, where he remained until his death. Horace Walpole states that Raphael was also invited by Henry VIII. to visit England, and become attached to the Court of London.

He preferred to abide in his well-beloved Rome, where, indeed, he lived in a style of refined elegance, and maintained the state due to the Prince of Painters. Vasari says that when he went to the papal palace he was usually accompanied by fifty artists of high rank, forming a proud and brilliant train. Michael Angelo was accustomed to go alone; and one day when he met Raphael and his disciples, he exclaimed, "Where are you going thus, surrounded like a general?" to which his young rival replied, "And you, alone, like the hangman?"

In 1519 the following contemporary description is found in a letter from Calcagnini, the first secretary of the Pope, to Jacob Ziegler, the famous mathematician: "The very rich Raphael da Urbino, who is so much esteemed by the Pope: he is a young man of the greatest kindness, and of an admirable mind. He is distinguished by the first qualities. Thus he is perhaps the first of all the painters, as well in theory as in practice; moreover, he is an architect of such rare talent that he invents and executes things which men of the greatest genius deemed impossible. . . . He is restoring Rome in almost its ancient grandeur; for, by removing the highest accumulations of earth, digging down to the lowest foundations, and restoring every thing according to the description of ancient authors, he has so carried the Pope Leo and the Romans along with him as to induce every one to look on him as a god sent from Heaven to restore to the ancient city her former majesty. With all this, he is so far from being proud that he comes as a friend to every one, and does not shun the words and remarks of any one. He likes to have his views discussed, in order to obtain instruction and to instruct others, which he regards as the object of life."

The last commission given to Raphael in the Vatican was for the decoration of the fourth hall, now known as *La Sala di Costantino;* and he intended to represent there the union of the Church and State as exemplified in the life of Constantine. The frescos are in imitation of tapestry, and are surrounded by allegorical figures, portraits of the popes, and small historical pictures. The cartoon of "The Battle of Constantine" was entirely executed by the master, and shows the Emperor dashing forward on a white horse, with three armed angels above his head, while Maxentius and the hostile pagan army are being driven into the Tiber. The scene is at the Ponte Molle, with Monte Mario and the Janiculan Hill in the background. The fresco of "Constantine Addressing his Army" was also drawn by the master, and shows the tents of the Roman troops, near the Tiber, with the Emperor narrating his miraculous vision to his standard-bearers, while in the sky is the apparition of a shining cross. These two grand designs were deprived of much of their boldness and strength by the coldness of the painting, which was done by Giulio Romano.

The hall had hardly commenced to show the designs of the frescos when Leo and Raphael died, and the work was stopped by the practical and art-detesting Pope Adrian VI. But the Medici Pope, Clement VII., gathered the fragments of the Roman school of artists in 1523, and recommenced the decoration of the Hall of Constantine. It was hardly finished when the organization of the Holy League by the Pope drew down the hot anger of the Emperor Charles V., and Rome was plundered and trampled under foot by the imperial troops for seven months, and the rising splendors of the Renaissance were annihilated. Then ensued a solitude and the calm of death, which rested over Italy for three hundred and fifty years.

The unfortunate execution of the Chigi frescos by his delegates, and the comparative inferiority of some of the easel-pictures which had recently gone out from his studio, the works of the pupils, caused the Roman artists and people to whisper that Raphael's genius was declining. He was deeply wounded by these rumors, and resolved to execute with his own hands a masterpiece which should silence all criticism, and win back the veneration of his contemporaries. At this time Cardinal de' Medici ordered him to paint "The Transfiguration" for the Narbonne Cathedral.

Simultaneously the Cardinal commissioned Sebastino del Piombo to paint "The Raising of Lazarus." Michael Angelo made the drawings for this picture, thinking that their symmetry, filled out with Sebastiano's rich coloring, would produce a work which would far surpass that of his competitor. Raphael said, "Michael Angelo pays me a great honor, since it is in reality himself that he offers as my rival, and not Sebastiano." The Tuscan master had often acknowledged the excellence of the works of his young competitor, and there is no reason to infer that the two artists were engaged in the pettiness of private animosities. Still it is evident that they sometimes clashed, and the only ungracious remark on record as made by Raphael was directed to Angelo, as before stated. At the same time he frequently said that he rejoiced to have lived in Angelo's day, because that great genius showed him a phase of art which the older masters had never developed. Vasari balances the two men fairly, when he says that "when vanquished by Art in the person of Michael Angelo, Nature deigned to be subjugated in that of Raphael, not by Art only, but by goodness also."

"The Transfiguration" is in two sections. The upper part shows Christ rising into the air, with uplifted eyes and arms, in the midst of an ineffable and supernatural light. It is at the moment when the celestial voice cries, "This is my beloved Son; hear ye him." At His side are figures of Moses and Elias; while below, on Mount Tabor, the Apostles Peter, James, and John are prostrate on the ground, dazzled by the mystical light. This majestic scene is contrasted with that in the lower part of the picture, at the foot of the mountain, where an afflicted father has brought his distorted and demon-possessed boy to the Apostles, attended by a crowd of people. But the powerless disciples point up to

Christ, as the only One who has power over all evil things. Their gestures join the action of the two sections of the picture, showing the rich unity and deep significance of the design. The dual arrangement of the transfigured group above and the sad earthly scene below has been severely criticised, but Goethe has defended it most eloquently.

When the work was done, it was retained in Rome as a memorial of its maker, and was kept in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio. In 1797 the French troops removed "The Transfiguration" to Paris, but it was returned to the Vatican in 1815. Countless copies and engravings have been made during the last three centuries, and scattered over the world. The picture is valued by experts at $300,000.

"The Transfiguration" was the last and the noblest of Raphael's paintings, if we except "The Sistine Madonna," with which it stands in unapproachable supremacy, above all other achievements of pictorial art. The coincidence has already been noted, that the two last pictures which the master painted of Christ and of the Madonna leave them in the profound splendor of their heavenly glorification, portrayed with an inspired art which is at once inimitable and indescribable. As Passavant says: "These two master-pieces are those that have excited the most constant admiration and the warmest veneration during three centuries throughout all Christendom."

After these almost miraculous achievements, no further advance seems to have been possible, even to Raphael. Why, then, need he linger to feel himself falling slowly from his proud eminence, and to decline into an old age surrounded with enemies, like Michael Angelo; or exiled far from his beloved Italy, like Leonardo; or shivering in chill atheism, like Perugino? Why need he stay to see the downfall of art in Rome, and the mournful destruction of the fair city? It was decreed that his glorious life should have no anti-climax of decadence. From the very empyrean of his fame and honor he was ushered into the life immortal, there to dwell, let us hope, with the saints and sages, apostles and heroes, whom his glowing imagination had so often portrayed, and in the very presence of the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Son.

Before "The Transfiguration" was completed, its author was stricken down by a violent fever, which quickly made fatal inroads on his delicate organization. Vasari states that his marriage with Maria da Bibiena was then at hand; and, during his last weeks of independence, he was draining the cup of unlawful pleasure to the dregs. On one occasion he indulged in such excesses, that he returned home very ill. The doctors thought that he had taken a severe cold; and he was ashamed to reveal the true cause of his prostration. They therefore bled him, which, in his reduced state, proved speedily fatal. Landon and some other biographers have repeated this painful story; but Passavant, Pungileoni, Longhena, and all the most careful investigators of Raphael's life, agree in saying that the fatal fever arose from his protracted labors in the malarious localities of the Roman ruins. Vasari took his account from the unreliable and somewhat disreputable Fornari, who had published it in 1549, in his "Observations on Ariosto." He adds, with a confidence which seems indeed singular in view of the alleged circumstances, that, "as he embellished the world by his talents while on earth, so it is to be believed that his soul is now adorning heaven."

Although generally doubted, this story was not disproved for three centuries, until Longhena, in 1823, first demonstrated its high improbability, and then published the true account of the artist's death, which the Abbé Cancellieri received from an ancient manuscript in Cardinal Antonelli's library, indorsed by Camuccini. According to this narrative, which is the only one accepted by modern biographers, Raphael's delicate constitution and limited physical strength had at that time been taxed to the uttermost by his labors in the studio and among the ruins. He was one day busily at work in the Chigi Palace, when he was sent for at court, whither he hastened at great speed, being impatient at the interruption. The Romans have a proverb: *Sole di Marzo, se ti piglia, t'ammazzo.* He arrived at the Vatican breathless and perspiring, and remained for some time in one of the cold and draughty halls, consulting with the Pope about the new works on St. Peter's Church. He quickly felt a violent chill, and returned home, where he was immediately prostrated with the fever.

The entire population of Rome was agitated at the sudden peril which menaced the beloved master, — him who had done so much to make their city famous. The Pope rested under the shadow of the general anxiety, and sent frequent messages of encouragement and his solemn benediction. The sickness lasted but eight days.

Raphael sank rapidly, and soon realized that his earthly life was near its close. He arranged his temporal affairs with tranquillity, and named as executors his old friends, Baldassare Turini and Branconio dall' Aquila, officers of the Papal court. The beautiful house near the Vatican was bequeathed to Cardinal Bibiena, who was then in financial difficulty, and at odds with the Pope. The kinsmen of the Santi family, at Urbino, received a thousand ducats in gold; and the old paternal estate went to the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Misericordia. The works of art in his studio, and the unfinished commissions at Rome and elsewhere, were left to his favorite pupils, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. A large bequest was made to Margherita, La Fornarina, the maiden whom he had loved so long and so well, and to whom he was always constant.

After having thus settled his affairs with the world, he received the last sacraments of the Church, and commended his soul to God. On the night of Good Friday, April 6, 1520, Raphael died, at the age of exactly thirty-seven years.

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The Pope was staying that night in the apartments of the Vatican which Raphael had erected for him, when suddenly they fell into ruins, and he had scarcely escaped from the ominous wreck when the tidings came that the great master was dead. The Roman legend says that the Pontiff burst into tears, and cried out, "*Ora pro nobis*," as if the artist had already become a canonized saint.

The Eternal City was plunged into grief; and the bereft disciples arranged the body to lie in state, on a catafalque surrounded by lighted tapers, with "The Transfiguration" overhead. Here his friends came, in mournful groups, and looked for the last time on the sweet and beloved face, in the presence of his crowning work. The great light of the city had been extinguished. Count Castiglione wrote to his mother, "It seems to me that I am no longer in Rome, since my poor dear Raphael is not here." "He was mistaken. Raphael lives ever in Rome; as much as Paul or Cæsar," — adds an eloquent American.

Thousands of citizens followed his body to the Pantheon; and the unfinished "Transfiguration," on which the colors were yet damp, was borne in the solemn procession. He was buried in a chapel which he had previously restored and fitted for the purpose, and which he had endowed with a house, whose rent should defray the expenses of twelve masses monthly at its altar. This rite was kept up for 185 years, until the income from the house had dwindled to an insufficient sum. The chapel was decorated, at the master's order, with a marble statue of the Virgin, by Lorenzetto, which is now venerated by the Romans as instrumental in several miracles. In 1833 the tomb was opened, and the complete skeleton of Raphael was found and exposed to the reverent view of an immense number of Romans. After five weeks the precious remains were enclosed in a leaden coffin and a marble sarcophagus, after which they were restored to the sepulchre-chapel, in a solemn night-service, when the Pantheon was illuminated, and the chief literati and artists of the city bore torches in the funeral procession.

Bembo composed the following epitaph for the tomb of his friend: —

D. O. M.

Raphaeli · Sanctio · Ioann · F · Urbinati
Pictori · Eminentiss · Vetervmq · Aemvlo
Cvivs · Spirantes · Prope · Imagines · Si
Contemplere Natvrae · Atqve · Artis · Foedvs
Facile · Inspexeris
Ivlii ii · Et Leonis · X · Pont · Maxx · Pictvrae
Et · Architect · Operibvs · Gloriam · Avxit
Vix · Annos · XXXVII · Integer · Integros
Qvo · Die · Natvs · Est · Eo · Esse · Desiit
VIII · Id · Aprilis · MDXX.
Ille Hic Est Raphael Timvit Qvo Sospite Vinci
Rervm Magna Parens Et Moriente Mori.

(Dedicated to Raphael Sanzio, the son of Giovanni of Urbino, the most eminent painter, who emulated the ancients. In whom the union of Nature and Art is easily perceived. He increased the glory of the Pontiffs Julius II. and Leo X. by his works of painting and architecture. He lived exactly thirty-seven years, and died on the anniversary of his birth, April 6, 1520.

Living, great Nature feared he might outvie
Her works, and, dying, fears herself to die.)

When Lomazzo of Milan gave symbols to the great painters of the Renaissance, he assigned to Mantegna the serpent of sagacity, to Michael Angelo the dragon of contemplation, and to Raphael the figure of a man, the emblem of incarnate intellect and graceful strength. No artist was ever endowed with such a power of assimilation as this one, who gathered and blended the true, the beautiful, and the good, from Umbria and Florence and Rome, and placed them on the glowing canvas. Yet he avoided all taint of eclecticism, and was ever the same in himself.

Angelo's best work was done when he was sixty-seven years of age, Titian's after his seventieth year, and Murillo's after he had passed fifty. But into the short springtime of the life of the Urbinese painter was compressed an enormous amount of work, enlightened by a fully-ripened judgment. The prodigality of invention and the accuracy in design in his paintings are continued through countless original drawings, which are overflowing with conscientious brain-work and earnest study.

Raphael is at the head of the art of painting, because, although not pre-eminent in all its departments, he combined more excellences and fewer defects than any other painter. In drawing he could not surpass Michael Angelo, though he had no other peer. In chasteness of design he resembled the ancient Greeks, attaining a marvellous symmetry, a wisdom of selection, and a close adherence to the best natural and ideal models. The expressive heads of his men, the apostles, martyrs, and saints, are among his noblest works. His figures are personified emotions, delicately and inimitably shown in all their gradations, and illuminated by the rare faculty which he had of placing himself in imagination under similar circumstances with his subjects.

In the quality of grace, the master was so endowed as to have won the name of "The new Apelles." This trait appears in the tender faces and delicate forms of his Madonnas and children; where modesty and purity are portrayed with a charming freedom of execution and an evident innate facility of comprehension.

In coloring and chiaroscuro he may have been inferior to Titian and Correggio, but was far in advance of Michael Angelo and his other contemporaries. The portraits of the Popes show his best work in this regard, since in them he was precluded from invention, and there remained only this one method of attaining distinction.

In the composition of groups, and unity of action, he is unsurpassed, and exhibits a rare skill in disposing of masses of light and shade. The costumes of the figures are of remarkable accuracy and careful harmony with the era represented. The sublimity exhibited in many of his religious paintings has never been equalled since, and impresses the lightest mind with its pure grandeur. At the same time, the representations of sensuous scenes and fascinating voluptuousness in classic fables or on the pagan Olympus are full-blooded and seductive, true to the motives of the myths, and to the taste of the licentious patrons who ordered them.

But the crowning talent of the master, and that which gave him his highest merit and his wonderful celebrity, was his marvellous felicity in the invention and disposition of subjects, in which he has had no equal. He includes the whole theme under illustration in one rapid survey, and makes the story easily intelligible by skilful arrangements of figures, judicious selections of circumstances, and the subordination and blending of numerous collateral episodes with the main action of the picture.

Schelling says that "Raphael takes possession of the bright Olympus, and carries us away from earth to the assemblage of the gods — beings permanent and useful. The prime of the most cultivated life, the sweet fragrance of imagination, and the vigorous power of mind, all breathe forth from his works. He is no longer a painter: he is at once a philosopher and a poet. His wisdom equals the power of his mind; and things are ordered in the everlasting decrees just as he portrays them. In him art has reached its goal; and, as the human and divine can be purely balanced at *one* point alone, the stamp of uniqueness is impressed on all his works."

## A LIST OF

# RAPHAEL'S PAINTINGS

### NOW IN EXISTENCE, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR EXECUTION, AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

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⁂ *The interrogation-point after a title signifies that the picture is regarded as unauthentic by two or more critics, while others maintain its genuineness.*

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## ITALY.

ROME. — *The Vatican*, —The Transfiguration, 1519–20; the Madonna of Foligno, 1512; the Coronation of the Virgin, 1503; predella-pictures of the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation, 1503; the Assumption; Faith, Hope, and Charity, predella-pictures. *The Stanze of Raphael*, — Theology, the School of Athens, Parnassus, and Jurisprudence, executed 1508–11; the Expulsion of Heliodorus, Mass of Bolsena, Repulse of Attila, and Liberation of St. Peter, 1512–14; and the Halls of the Incendio and of Constantine, decorated by his pupils from his designs; the Loggie, 1514–16; the Gallery of Tapestries, twenty-one in number, 1515–19.

*Borghese Palace*, — The Entombment, 1507; the Marriage of Roxana, 1515; Cardinal Borgia; Raphael (?). *Bar-*

*berini Palace*, — La Fornarina, 1511. *Academy of St. Luke*, — St. Luke, and the Virgin (partly). *La Farnesina*, — Galatea, 1513; Cupid and Psyche, 1518–19. Late in *Sciarra-Colonna Palace*, — The Violin-Player. *Santa Maria della Pace*, — Mosaics and statuary. *Santa Maria del Popolo*, — Sibyls and Prophets, 1513. *St. Agostino*, — Fresco of Isaiah, 1512.

FLORENCE. — *Pitti Palace*, — Portraits of Angelo and Maddalena Doni, 1506; Pope Julius II., 1511; Pope Leo X., 1518; Phædra Inghirami, 1513; Cardinal Bibiena; the Vision of Ezekiel, 1513; the Madonna del Baldacchino, 1507; Madonna della Sedia, 1516; Madonna della Gran Duca, 1504; Madonna dell' Impannata, 1512; La Fornarina, 1518.

*Uffizi Gallery*, — Portrait of a Lady, 1512; Julius II., 1511; Raphael, 1506; St. John in the Desert, 1518–19; Madonna del Cardellino, 1506.

*Academy of St. Mark*, — Two monks, 1506. *St. Onofrio*, — Fresco of the Last Supper (?).

MILAN. — Lo Sposalizio, 1504; water-color sketch of nude figures.

PERUGIA. — *St. Pietro de' Cassinense*, — Infant Jesus and St. John, before 1500. *San Severo*, — The Trinity and Carmelite Monks, 1505. *Brescia*, — Pax Vobis, 1505. *Bergamo*, — St. Sebastian, 1504. *Bologna*, — St. Cecilia, 1513–17. *Città del Castello*, — Banner of Santa Trinità, 1500.

NAPLES. — *National Museum*, — Holy Family of Naples, 1512; Madonna and Saints; Cardinal Passerino (?); Tebaldeo (?).

## FRANCE.

THE LOUVRE. — La Belle Jardinière, 1508; the Virgin with a Diadem; the Large Holy Family, or La Vierge de Fontainebleau, 1518; the Small Holy Family, 1518; St. Margaret, 1518; St. Michael and the Dragon, 1518; St. George; St. Michael; St. Cecilia (fresco), 1515; Castiglione, 1513; Joanna of Arragon, 1518; Portrait of a Young Man; Portrait (?).

## SPAIN.

MADRID MUSEUM. — Madonna del Pesce, 1513; Madonna of the Pearl, 1517; Madonna of the Rose; Holy Family at the Oak, 1507; the Visitation, 1517; Lo Spasimo, 1517; Holy Family; Bibiena, 1513; two portraits of men.

## ENGLAND.

LONDON. — *National Gallery,* — St. Catherine of Alexandria, 1507; the Knight's Dream, 1500; Julius II. (replica) Aldobrandini Madonna, 1511; replica of the Bridgewater Madonna; Archangels Michael and Raphael.

*South-Kensington Museum,* — Portrait of a Young Man; seven cartoons for the tapestries. *Lord Ward,* — The Gavarni Crucifixion, 1500; the Three Graces, 1506; *Munro Collection,* — Madonna with Candelabra, 1516. *Lady Burdett-Coutts,* — Christ on the Mount of Olives, 1504; Madonna with Jesus Standing, 1512. *Dulwich College,* — St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua.

*Bridgewater Gallery,* — Holy Family at the Palm-Tree, 1506; Madonna of the Bridgewater Gallery, 1512; and two dubious Madonnas.

*Pershangar* (Lord Cowper), — Madonna, 1505; Madonna della Casa Nicolini, 1507. *Blenheim Palace*, — Madonna dei Ansidei. *Bowood*, — Predella of the Blenheim Madonna. *Barron Hill*, — Pietà. *Charlcote Park*, — The Marquis of Mantua, 1511. *Leigh Court*, — Christ Bearing the Cross; Julius II.; Madonna (?). *Alnwick Castle*, — Madonna with the Pink; St. Catherine and Mary Magdalen, 1502.

## GERMANY.

BERLIN MUSEUM, — Solly Madonna, 1501; Madonna with Sts. Jerome and Francis, 1503; Terranuova Madonna, (coi Bambini), 1505; Madonna della Casa Colonna, 1508; Pietà, 1504; St. Lodovico; St. Ercolano, 1504; Diotalevi Madonna; Adoration of the Shepherds (?). *Dr. Spicker*, — A Carthusian Monk.

MUNICH PINAKOTHEK, — Holy Family of the Canigiani Family, 1506; Madonna della Tenda, 1516; Madonna of the Tempi Family, 1506; Baptism and Resurrection of Christ (two doubtful pictures); Bindo Altoviti, 1512; Portrait of a Man, 1505; Small Head frescoed on a brick, 1505.

DRESDEN MUSEUM, — The Sistine Madonna, 1518.

## AUSTRIA.

VIENNA BELVEDERE, — Holy Family al Verde, 1507 St. Margaret. *Pesth*, — Madonna from Esterhazy Gallery.

## RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *Hermitage Palace*, — The Alba Madonna, 1511; the Staffa Madonna; the Holy Family with the Beardless St. Joseph, 1506; Portrait of an Old Man, (Sannazaro?); St. George, 1506.

*** *Numerous other pictures in Passavant's long list of doubtful Raphaels are regarded as genuine productions of the great master by competent modern critics, such as Waagen and Wornum; but it seems inexpedient to give here the titles of these controverted paintings.*

*The pictures now in America attributed to Raphael are not mentioned in the list, because the proofs of their authenticity are not easily accessible. The Pietà, which was purchased by Mr. J. J. Jarves, and is now in the Yale-College Gallery, is undoubtedly an early work of Raphael.*

*The author will welcome corrections as to any point in which the list is erroneous or imperfect.*

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# LEONARDO DA VINCI

# PREFACE.

THE true life of Leonardo da Vinci has not yet been chronicled, and awaits the faithful and disciplined precision and tirelessness of a German pen to do it justice. What Grimm and Passavant have done for Angelo and Raphael, some countryman of theirs, on the cold and arid plains of Prussia, must accomplish for the eldest of the great artistic triumvirate. In the meantime, we may read the Vincian biographies by MM. Rio and Arséne Houssaye, and enjoy their beautiful language and poetic thoughts, more pleasing, certainly, than the Dryasdust Teutonic works, but less philosophic and less profitable.

In our own language we have the commonplace little biography, written by J. W. Brown, many years since ; and the bright and agreeable " Leonardo da Vinci and his Works," edited by Mrs. Heaton and Mr. C. C. Black, and published in London, in 1873. Besides these books, I have drawn facts from the writings of Amoretti, Bossi, Landon, Lomazzo, Borghini, Gaye, Rosini, Rigollot, Blanc, Clément, Stendhal, Viardot, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Taine, Waagen, and the delightful old Vasari. The foundations of my sketch rest on Houssaye's *Histoire de Léonard de Vinci* (Paris, 1869).

We may easily collect the chief external facts of Leonardo's life, but in his inner being he remains a perplexing mystery, regarded by some as an intellectual butterfly, lightly tasting the sweets of learning, and avoiding contact with the nobler but more terrible problems which agitated Europe in his day, while others dream of him as possessed by deeper and profounder thoughts than came to the men of those centuries, a seer, in the highest sense of the word, filled with the glory of ineffable visions. If he had not passed most of his life in a provincial city — if he had not spread his energies over too wide a field — if he had not been so pleasantly indolent and socially popular — what might he not have accomplished?

M. F. SWEETSER.

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# LEONARDO DA VINCI.

## CHAPTER I.

**The Castle of Vinci and its Inmates. — Verocchio's Studio. — Leonardo's First Achievements. — A Society Favorite. — A Self-Appreciative Letter.**

THE second half of the fifteenth century, the long hush of peace and prosperity before the breaking of the Reformation storm, was the golden era of the Middle Ages, during which the early Medicean poets of Italy wrote their immortal pages; while the great ecclesiastical chieftains, Luther and Reuchlin, Erasmus and the Medici, were preparing their weapons of spiritual warfare, or passing through the deep experiences which fitted them for the heroic contests so close at hand.

The richest blooming-time of art was also found during these decades, when Raphael and Angelo, Titian and Giorgione, were learning how to prepare their celestial colors. The eldest of this marvellous group was Leonardo da Vinci, the most versatile and many-sided, and in many respects the most extraordinary, representative of mediæval Italy. When Lomazzo assigned emblems to the artists of Italy, in the realms of mythology, zoölogy, and the metals, he gave as Leonardo's representatives, Prometheus, the lion, and gold.

Leonardo was born in 1452, at the little castle of Vinci, which stood in the Vale of the Arno, not far from the Pistojian frontier, and hard by the Fucecchio Lake. In 1852, Stendhal reverently visited the ruins of this ancient building.

Leonardo's father was Ser Piero da Vinci, a notary of the Florentine Republic, and a man of influence and position, though not yet twenty-five years old. Piero was married four times, but Leonardo's mother was not his wife. Her name was Catarina; and, in later years, she married a certain Accattabriga del Vacca, and became an honest woman. But, although Leonardo was illegitimate, he was legitimized and brought up among Piero's eleven lawful children, and became the pet of the family, on account of his superior intelligence and brilliancy. The successive wives of Piero — Albiera Amadori, Francesca Lanfredini, Margherita Guglielmo, and Lucrezia Cortigiani — treated him with tender care and affection, and consoled him for the loss of the mother whom he had never seen. The loving ministrations of these fair and charitable Tuscan ladies made a deep and abiding impression on the heart of the young Leonardo, and in some measure prepared him for his appreciative portrayal of noble womanhood. He was a frequent guest at his father's house, even after the last marriage, when Piero had a villa on the heights near Florence, since Belincionni's sonnet to Madame Lucrezia da Vinci alludes to the poet's joyful sojourn, —

"*A Fiesole con Piero e Leonardo.*"

Remote from the busy city, with its human activities and speculations, its iron creeds and formulæ, the lion-like youth was left alone with Nature, to learn her deepest lessons of faith and verity. In the forests about the castle, along the mountain-ridges, and by the bright and impetuous Arno, he studied the sky, and her storm-robes and star-jewelry, the vast expanses of verdure and their annual changes, the blue river of autumn and the tawny floods of spring-time. His impulse towards natural science was very strong, and grew with his dawning youth. He advanced a theory in later years, that sons are usually like their mothers, and daughters like their fathers; and, if there is reason in this hypothesis, the frail Catarina must have been a remarkable woman, worthy to have enthralled the young Piero da Vinci.

Piero was proud of his brave boys, and brought a pedagogue to Vinci, to teach them in the subjects with which a gentleman's children should be familiar. But Leonardo was distinguished above them all by his insatiable questionings, searching on all sides for knowledge, and never content save with clear demonstrations. Vasari says that, "In arithmetic, he often confounded the master who taught him, by his reasonings and by the difficulty of the problems he proposed." His ardent observations in the open fields and on the rocky heights were echoed by his earnest labors in the library and over the student's desk; and his life seemed consecrated to one object, — to know

From his earliest years, he devoted himself also to music, and quickly learned how to improvise both words and melodies, and to fill the ancient halls of the castle with the sweet harmonies of the lute and guitar. This, indeed, was not enough to satisfy him; and he invented a new form of the lyre, with which to develop fresh ideas in harmony.

In those happy days men ripened fast, and entered the battle of life before they passed their teens. The artist learned to draw by drawing, the musician by playing, the poet by rhyming, and not by being told, for years, how to do these things. The reign of the academy and the lecture was yet far away; and genius made its own rules, and felt its own way, slowly and painfully, sometimes indeed wrongly, but, in the long run, surely and freely.

Almost from his infancy, Leonardo had been familiar with the use of the pencil, and he frequently turned aside from the drudgery of mathematics to amuse himself by drawing. The same paper which held his columns of figures and lettered angles was adorned with simple bits of landscape or quaint little caricatures. At last these sketches attracted such attention that Ser Piero carried several of them to his friend, Andrea Verocchio, a famous artist of Florence, who was amazed at their originality, and strongly advised that the youth should become a painter.

About the year 1470, Leonardo left his father's home, and entered the picture-shop of Verocchio, that kind old master who held his pupils as his children, and taught them with a consecrated zeal. His dry and precise manner reflected the hard and cold school of early Florentine art, with its confused composition, naive sentiment, and melancholy coloring, and an exactness derived from his long practice in sculpture. Verocchio was also a musician and a geometer, and thus had many points of contact with his disciple; but his chief excellence was in architecture and sculpture, and in making exquisite "religious jewelry," crucifixes, statuettes, and cups of gold and silver. Probably Leonardo's fatal versatility, which prevented his attaining supremacy in anything, was fostered and stimulated by his master, when it should have been restricted. He became great in many things, but greatest in none.

Among Leonardo's fellow-pupils were three youths who were destined to become famous, Pietro Perugino, Gian Antonio Rustici, and Lorenzo di Credi. The latter followed his master's teaching so diligently that he preserved the archaic manner of painting, and never emerged from the crudeness of the fourteenth century; but Leonardo and Perugino — whom Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father, spoke of as "equal in age and in love," were not satisfied even with the studies of perspective and the chemical nature of pigments, but advanced rapidly beyond Verocchio's horizon, encouraging and influenced by each other. When the master was employed to paint a picture of St. John baptizing Christ, for the monks of Vallombrosa, he desired Leonardo to execute an angel therein, which he did with such skill that his part far excelled the rest, wherefore Verocchio desired to abandon painting, being displeased that a mere child could so far surpass him. This interesting picture is now in the Academy at Florence.

One day a countryman brought to Ser Piero a round of wood cut from a fig-tree, wishing him to have it painted as a shield — and Piero turned it over to his son to amuse himself with. Leonardo resolved to paint something terrific, and collected in his room a number of lizards, newts, snakes, hedgehogs, bats, locusts, dragon-flies, and other creatures, and from these drew a hideous monster, surrounded by fire and breathing out poison and flames. He was forced to hasten the work, on account of the foul stench rising from his models. Piero, when he first saw the painting, fled from the room in wild consternation. He gave the rustic an ordinary shield, and sold the pictured one to a merchant for 100 ducats, who gave it to the Duke of Milan for 300 ducats. It has been lost for almost four centuries.

Once more Leonardo supped on horrors, when he painted the 'Medusa's Head' which is now in the Uffizi Gallery, with a head covered and made horrific by hissing and interlacing green serpents, glassy and death-like eyes, and a mouth distorted with agony, and breathing out poison. Another picture of this time, showing the half-length figure of an angel, is now among the small Tuscan pictures in the Uffizi Gallery. It was painted for the Grand-Duke Cosimo I., but afterwards disappeared from the palace, and was bought by a merchant for six cents, who sold it to Fineschi for sixty-two cents.

The picture of 'Neptune' was another long-lost work of Leonardo's youth, which met with high praises, and was inscribed with a quaint Latin quatrain. The god appeared on the storm-tossed waves, drawn by sea-horses, and attended by a group of nymphs, winds, and marine deities. A cartoon of 'Adam and Eve' was admired on account of its groups of animals and great variety of vegetation, the exuberant flowers and fruits of Paradise, whereof, says Vasari, "for careful execution and fidelity to nature, they are such that there is no genius in the world, however God-like, which could produce similar results with equal truth." This cartoon was made for a tapestry curtain, to be woven in Flanders, of silk and gold, for the King of Portugal; and was acquired by the Medici family, but is now lost.

'The Madonna della Caraffa' was another picture of this time, famous for the exquisite beauty of the dewy flowers in a vase near the Virgin. Pope Clement VII. held this as very precious; and it was seen in the Borghese Palace as late as 1846, since which it has disappeared. The Madonna now in the Casa Buonvisi, at Lucca, was another early picture. Among the portraits which the master made furtively, by following their subjects around until their features and expressions were thoroughly familiar, Vasari speaks of the charcoal head of the venerable Amerigo Vespucci, and another picture of the Gipsy Captain Scaramuccia.

'The Adoration of the Magi,' now in the Uffizi, was another of the early Florentine works, and the last of the group. The artist admitted many visitors to see this picture before it was finished, and their praise was so hearty that he left it as it stood, lest by further additions he might injure it. It was one of his largest sketches, and, although its bituminous colors have blackened, and some parts are only outlined, it is a favorite study for artists.

The Florentine manner of Leonardo illustrates his manner of designing with the pencil and arranging perspective. The chief masses of shade were made by bituminous colors, from which, and in the most delicious harmony, he brought out the needful lights.

He was accustomed to leave his studies betimes, and wander through the streets of Florence in search of strange and expressive countenances, of which, when he had found them, he rapidly seized in memory the chief peculiarities. His faces laugh, cry, and grimace, with marvellous verisimilitude, just as did those of the gentlemen, peasants, or soldiers, with whom he used to sit at table, telling them stories full of fun or of horror, to call out their varying expressions. He has in this way preserved to us the naive and innocent smile which was so characteristic of his time. When criminals were executed, he used to watch their dying agonies, and study the muscular contractions of their limbs. In his girdle he always carried a small sketch-book, wherein he drew such objects as attracted his fancy; and he advised all artists to do the same.

The youth also gave much attention to modelling, making several *terra-cotta* heads of women and children. His most original device, and one which helped to form his subsequent soft and delicate style, consisted in covering clay models with drapery dipped in plaster, and then making careful drawings therefrom, in black and white, on fine prepared linen. Sometimes he modelled figures to paint in his pictures, attaining in this way a rare command over shadows. In later years he made similar models for the use of his pupils, saying that it is only by modelling that a painter can learn the science of shadows.

The many accomplishments of the notary's son made him very popular in Florentine society, and his easy good-fellowship secured him friends among all classes of citizens. Clearly, a youth who was beautiful on the promenade, magnificent on horseback and terrible with the sword, had the best of credentials to the fair ladies of the city, who were moreover charmed by his beauty, his poetry and music, and his graceful dancing. He was sought at all the balls and promenades, the riding-parties in the Vale of Arno, and the musical entertainments; and such were his powers of fascination that he was called the magician. His contemporaries said that he was the handsomest of men, and his rich costumes were always in keeping with his personal presence.

Leonardo spent about eleven years in Florence, having set up a studio of his own after he left Verocchio, about the year 1477, although his name had been registered in the Red Book of the Company of Painters five years earlier. His father had advanced in importance, and was now notary to the Medici and to several religious houses, so that he gave up his home at Vinci, and took a house in Florence. But the young artist lived in a place of his own, and continued his experiments and studies. He received but little patronage, and was not noticed by Lorenzo de' Medici, the greatest noble and art-patron in the city. But the time thus given to him was bravely improved in perfecting himself in manly accomplishments, and in that intimate communion with the best Tuscan society which gave him an unrivalled refinement and a wonderful charm of manner. Even at this early time, with his limited means, he lived in grand style, "keeping many servants and horses, in which he took great delight." He admired spirited horses, and possessed remarkable skill in their management. He was also very tender-hearted towards animals, as Vasari thus prettily proves: "When he passed places where birds were sold, he would frequently take them from their cages, and having paid the price demanded for them by the sellers, would then let them fly into the air, thus restoring to them the liberty they had lost."

"He who cannot do what he will, must will that which he can do," said Leonardo, and made endless experiments to find where his possibilities ended. His labors at painting and his continual social recreation were not enough, and during this period he studied mechanics, designed mills and other hydraulic machinery, and made deep researches in military and naval engineering. By systems of levers, screws, and cranes he devised methods of getting water from great depths, raising heavy weights, and dredging sea-ports and channels. He also made plans for a canal from Florence to Pisa, by changing the Arno's course at certain points,— which was done two centuries later. Vasari was right when he said: "He would have made great profits, if he had not been so variable and unstable."

At last, however, Leonardo desired greatly to seek a change, and to leave the neglectful Medici, in favor of some more liberal and understanding patrons. He therefore addressed to Lodovico Sforza, the Regent of Milan, the following long and remarkable letter:

"MY MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD: Having seen and duly considered the experments of all those who repute themselves masters and constructors of warlike instruments, and that the inventions and operations of the said instruments are not different from those in common use, I will endeavor, without derogating from any one else, to make known to Your Excellency certain secrets of my own, and, at an opportune time, I shall hope to put them into execution, if they seem valuable to you. I briefly note these things below:

1. I have a method of making very light bridges, fit to be carried most easily, with which to follow the flight of enemies; and others strong and secure against fire and battle; easy and commodious to lift up and to place in position. I have methods also to burn and destroy those of the enemy.

2. I know, in case of the siege of a place, how to take away the water from the ditches, and to make an infinite variety of scaling-ladders and other instruments pertinent to such an expedition.

3. Item. If by the height of the ramparts, or the strength of the position and works, it is impossible to use in a siege the office of bombardment, I have a method of ruining any castle or other fortress, if it is not founded on the rock.

4. I have also kinds of cannon most commodious and easy to carry, with which to throw inflammable matters, whose smoke causes great

fright to the enemy, with serious injury and confusion.

5. Item. I have means by excavations and straight and winding subterranean ways to come to any given [point] without noise, even though it be necessary to pass under moats and rivers.

6. Item. I make wagons covered, secure and indestructible, which, entering among the enemy with artillery, there is no multitude of armed men so great that we shall not break through; and back of these the infantry can follow safely and without impediment.

7. Item. The need occurring, I shall make cannon, mortars and field-pieces of most beautiful and useful forms, different from the common usage.

8. Where the operations of artillery are impossible, I shall construct mangonels, balistæ, and other engines, of marvellous efficacy, and out of the common use; and, in short, according to the variety of the events, I shall build various and infinite means of offence.

9. And when it shall happen to be upon the sea, I have means of preparing many instruments most efficient in attack or defence, and vessels that shall make resistance to the most powerful bombardment; and powders and smokes.

10. In time of peace I believe I can satisfy very well and equal all others in architecture, in designing public edifices and private houses, and in conducting water from one place to another.

Item. I can carry on works of sculpture, in marble, bronze, or *terra-cotta*, also in pictures. I can do what can be done equal to any other, whoever he may be.

Also, I shall undertake the execution of the bronze horse, which will be the immortal glory and eternal honor of the happy memory of my lord, your father, and of the illustrious house of Sforza.

And if any of the above-mentioned things seem impossible and impracticable, I offer myself most ready to make experiment of them in your park, or in whatever place Your Excellency shall please, to whom, as humbly as I can, I commend myself."

This self-reliant letter is written from right to left, in the Oriental manner, with a thoroughly original orthography. Leonardo's boast that he was equal to any living artist was not an empty one, because Angelo was still young and almost unknown, and Raphael was but just born.

## CHAPTER II.

Journey to Milan. — The Welcome. — The Sforzas. — Cecilia and Lucrezia. — The Villa Melzi. — The Equestrian Statue. — Sculptures. — Festivals. — Flight from War.

The Regent of Milan made no delay in summoning to his court such a man of men, whose brain conceived with equal skill Madonnas and iron-clads, Apollos and siege-batteries, church-shrines and pontoon-bridges. Perhaps he also knew that Leonardo's feet were as firm in the stirrups of the war-horse as they were graceful in the dance on palace-floors; that his hand could bend an iron horse-shoe, or touch the delicate strings of the lyre with magic skill; that his eye was as quick and efficient in the tournament or the sword-play as in melting the hearts of Italian beauties; that his voice was as ready for the discussion of Archimedes or Aristotle as for singing improvised love-sonnets, or wooing the not unwilling ladies of the court. At the close of the year 1481, Leonardo was summoned to Milan, and went hither joyfully.

Belincionni, the court-poet, celebrated the arrival of Leonardo thus: —

> "Like bees to hive, here flocks each learned sage;
> With all that 's good and great the court is thronged;
> From Florence fair hath an Apelles come."

Many other verses, in the curious manner of the fifteenth century, flowed from Belincionni's pen, to augment Leonardo's fame.

Lodovico Sforza, the son of the Milanese general who had usurped the government, was one of those men of whom Hallam says, "The ordinary vices of mankind assumed a tint of portentous guilt in the palaces of Italian princes. Their revenge was fratricide and their lust incest." In order to cover the barbarities and sensualities of his court, he invited to it artists and literati from all parts of Italy, and made his capital the home of the fine arts. Campori thinks that Leonardo was summoned to make the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, since the Florentines were famous for their skill in bronze casting. Vasari attributes the invitation to Lodovico's love of music, in which Leonardo was known to excel, and tells of the master's arrival at Milan, with his silver lyre, shaped like a horse's head, designed by himself, and capable of giving increased vibration and sonorousness to the sounds. A sort of musical tournament ensued, when Leonardo vanquished the Milanese minstrels, and was hailed as the most wonderful *improvvisatore* of his time. The sovereign attested his appreciation of the talents of the Tuscan by granting him an annual salary of five hundred ducats, with many presents and perquisites besides.

The Regent was fascinated with his new retainer, and declared that "his speech was like singing." Lodovico (called Il Moro) was superstitiously devout and marvellously sensual, his ascetic penances mingling with outbursts of reckless profligacy, — poisoning his nephew, killing his wife by neglect, and kneeling alternately before the Madonna and his mistresses. He already knew the master's merit in art, being the possessor of the famous painted shield, and probably desired him to establish a school of art in Milan, to increase the splendor of a capital which he had marked for his own.

During the heroic age of Francesco Sforza, Milan had commanded the services of many famous architects and sculptors, but no painters of note; and when Lodovico assumed the regency, during the minority of his nephew, he endeavored to make up this deficiency, and to do for Milan what the Medici had done for Florence. Yet while he was the despot of the people, he was ruled by his women, who influenced his every act; and Houssaye thinks that Leonardo strove to reform this gilded barbarian, by appealing to him in the lofty voices of the sister arts.

Cecilia Gallerani was at this time Lodovico's reigning favorite, and her portrait was executed by Leonardo upon his arrival. A copy of this picture is preserved in the Ambrosian Library. The original portrait was praised by the court poet, in a glowing sonnet. Cecilia was a skilful musician and poetess; and it was perhaps on that account that the master portrayed her also as St. Cecilia, in a picture owned by Prof. Franchi, of Milan, and noticed by Rio. She was a lady of brilliant talents, and made a good marriage with Count Pergamino, which did not abate Lodovico's love a whit. A few years later, Leonardo executed Cecilia's portrait at the height of her glory; and this work is now held by the Pallavicini Family, at San Calocero.

Leonardo painted for Cecilia another picture, containing the Blessed Virgin (perhaps a portrait of the lady herself) and the Child Jesus, who is blessing a freshly blown Madonna rose, one of the symbols of St. Cecilia. In 1804, Amoretti saw this marvellous picture in a wine-shop at Milan; but it has since disappeared, and not even a copy remains.

Lucrezia Crivelli was another mistress of Lodovico, and her portrait was painted by Leonardo, and honored with three highly eulogistic Latin verses. It was long supposed that the picture in the Louvre, called *La Belle Férronière*, was the portrait of Lucrezia, but some modern critics reject this theory, one calling it Ginevra Benci, another Madame Féron, and another the Marchioness of Mantua There are also those who maintain that this is Lucrezia's portrait, which was purchased and brought to Paris by Francis I. She is seen to the waist, handsomely dressed, and wearing a black cord across her forehead, fastened with a diamond. The face is at once proud and melancholy, with a warm and brilliant coloring and soft pure lines, the head full of light, and even the shadows transparent.

The master executed two noble portraits of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, the lawful Duke, and his wife, Isabella of Arragon. These are now preserved in the Ambrosian Library, and Burckhardt says that the latter picture "is beyond all description beautiful and charming." The master also made two drawings of Lodovico, which are now at the Ambrosian Library and Christ Church College.

The *Codice Triulziano* was a quaint little parchment volume, written by the Regent's son, Maximilian, and enriched by numerous heraldic devices and pictures. Two of the latter were drawn by Leonardo, and show the young prince paying homage to the Emperor, and again as playing with birds, in the presence of his tutor. Another work, which was illustrated under the master's supervision, was Gambagnola's biography of Francesco Sforza, which contained many miniatures and arabesques in the Vincian manner.

In the year 1482, Leonardo designed and supervised the erection of a house for the Count Giovanni Melzi, at Vaprio. This afterwards became one of the master's most happy retreats. The Villa Melzi formerly contained a wall-painting by Leonardo, which has now disappeared. On the façade there still remain fragments of a colossal Madonna and Child, attributed to the same hands, and calling forth the most extravagant praises from early visitors. In 1796, a party of soldiers bivouacked under the walls of the villa, and the smoke and heat of their camp-fires, built against the façade, blackened and well-nigh ruined the fresco. It is believed that the house thus adorned is the same that was occupied by Leonardo for some years, while supervising the Martesan Canal, which was conveniently near the locality. The Melzi family had two establishments at Vaprio, the palace and the canonicate, and probably the master hired one of these. Here he enjoyed the most intimate social communion with the Melzi, and renewed his studies of rural nature. He also devoted many months to the consideration of ancient writings about Ptolemy's canals in Egypt, and the works of the Emperor Trajan in improving river-navigation, by which he formed Nicopuedia into a port of the sea. From thence also he made excursions in the lake-country, and obtained fresh revelations of the beauty of the earth. Dr. Waagen is of the opinion that the contemplation of Lake Como and the Alps had a marked effect on

Leonardo's art, especially as regards the backgrounds of his pictures.

In 1483, Leonardo began to model the grandiose equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, and was engaged upon this task for more than ten years, reading ancient writers, studying classic statuary, and above all closely examining every movement of live horses and every muscle of dead ones. He made a vast number of drawings, exhibiting horses in repose, as if on parade, in the fierce action of the charge, and in various other positions. Many of these drawings are still preserved, especially at Windsor Castle. He also tried to design a group in which Death should appear at the triumph, but the national character of the monument made such an idea seem too fantastic. He wrote on one of his MSS., "The 23d of April, 1490, I commenced this book, and recommenced the horse." How many times before, in his exacting search after the perfect ideal beauty, had he begun this great work? Indefatigable toiler though he was, and luminous in genius, he advanced but slowly and achieved but little, because unable to satisfy his high ideals and unwilling to stop short of perfection

No one knows what the design for Francesco's monument was, for after the master had devoted ten years to making the clay model, it was not put into bronze, and twenty years later it had disappeared. A beautiful little wax model was destroyed; and also the master's book of studies on the anatomy of horses.

As a sculptor Leonardo won great fame; and Jovius and Paciolo, his contemporaries, held that he was more excellent in that department than in painting. Lomazzo writes of the divine expression and adorable grace of the heads which he modelled; and Houssaye, speaking of Leonardo's head of wax, in the Lille Museum, says, "I know of nothing more beautiful in Greek art." His anatomical studies were long and careful, as regards both men and animals, and gave him a vast fund of knowledge in this department. President Thiers possessed an exquisite statuette in ivory, showing the rarest knowledge of the muscles, which has generally been attributed to Leonardo.

The rapid changes then going on in the great Cathedral rendered it necessary to remove the relics of St. Clou, which were under the last arcade; and Leonardo arranged such an ingenious system of ropes and cables that this result was achieved with but little difficulty. It is said that he also designed several domes and lanterns for the Cathedral. In 1492, the master paid a debt which he owed to the board of works of Milan Cathedral, probably for marble which he had taken for purposes of sculpture.

Leonardo was the master of ceremonies at all the great feasts, tournaments, and pageants which took place at the Lombard court, acting as decorator, architect, and deviser of all sorts of merry conceits. In 1489, when the rightful Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Sforza (for whom Lodovico acted as Regent), was married to Isabella of Arragon, he arranged a representation of the heavens and the revolving planets, each of which opened as the bride and bridegroom approached: while a person dressed as the deity of the planet emerged and recited complimentary verses by Bellincionni. This curious mechanical device was entitled *The Paradise.*

In 1490, Leonardo was sent to Pavia, in company with Francesco di Giorgio, the famous military engineer, to draw up a report on the architecture of the new cathedral at that place.

About the same time he began the treatise on lights and shadows. He doubtless derived much assistance from Di Giorgio in the plans which he was engaged upon, to strengthen the Lombard fortresses so that they might successfully resist the heavy artillery then coming into use. Leonardo devised another protection against his master's enemies, by inventing a steam cannon, called the Architonitro, or Lord of Thunder, the plans for which have been found among his papers. Well may Hamerton exclaim, "Oh, splendid Leonardo! the many-sided! a narrower nature might have yielded more abundant fruit."

In the year of the discovery of America, Leonardo was engaged in planning and executing great works of hydraulic engineering, for the purpose of utilizing the waters of the Ticino River in irrigating the dry plains of Lombardy. He visited Sesto Calende, Varal Piombo, Vegevano, and other towns, and noted where "in winter the vines are buried." A picture of the Madonna, with St. John and St. Michael, now in the palace of the Count San Vitale, at Parma, is inscribed with Leonardo's name, and the date, 1492. During the same busy year, the master arranged the jousts and tournaments given to the Duke by Sanseverino. This was the same noble Lombard for whom Leonardo built a palace in Milan. Now, also, the versatile artist made his first attempts at engraving.

During the same year the gentle and saintly Beatrice d'Este married Lodovico, whose licentious manners and sensual court she sensibly ameliorated, although he would by no means give up his mistresses. Leonardo organized and conducted the festivities of the wedding, and built and decorated the bride's apartments in the venerable Castello della Rocca, besides a beautiful bathroom in the garden, adorned with mosaics, colored marbles, and a statue of Diana. A delicate drawing of Beatrice's face, now in the Ambrosian Library, attests Leonardo's skill in catching expressions; and another and larger portrait of her, in the same collection, is attributed to his hand. Only five years later, the master conducted the ceremonies at her funeral, which the chronicler describes as "most stupendous obsequies."

When the Emperor Maximilian married the sister of the Regent of Milan, in the year 1493, the master again showed his ingenuity in contriving brilliant pageantry. The chief feature of the decorations was the clay model of Francesco Sforza's equestrian statue, which was placed under a triumphal arch, in the great square before the castle, and was saluted with the praises of all Italy. "Let the brass flow!" (*Fluat æs!*) cried an enthusiastic poet, urging that the bronze statue should be cast speedily; but, if ever the material was collected to found it, the necessities of Milan rendered it expedient to melt the brass into cannon. Fra Paciolo estimated that ten tons of metal would be requisite; and the Duke could ill afford such extravagance for mere decorations. The designer of the work delayed its completion so many years, in refining and retouching, that when he was ready to reproduce it in enduring metal, the means were altogether lacking. In one of his letters, complaining that his salary had not been paid for two years, he said, "I shall not speak of the horse, because I know the times." When the French army entered Milan, in 1499, the model was shamefully mutilated by being made a target for the arrows of the Gascon archers; yet it was still in existence, two years later, when the Duke of Ferrara ordered his ambassador to acquire it, to be sent to his own city, as a model for a new statue of himself. But the Lord Cardinal of Rouen declined to allow this transfer, saying that his master, the King of France, greatly admired the work. So it remained at Milan, where, in all probability, it was afterwards destroyed.

When Gian Galeazzo Sforza came of age, and demanded that his uncle Lodovico should surrender the government to him, the latter invited the French to enter Italy, and freely yielded several of his fortresses to the welcome invaders. Lodovico went to Pavia to meet the French King, Charles VIII. ; and during his absence Gian Galeazzo died (perhaps by poison), and his uncle became Duke in name, as he had long been in reality. Leonardo attended him in the journey to Pavia, and directed the magnificent festivities which signalized the meeting of the two sovereigns. During this journey, he became acquainted with the famous Genoese anatomist, Marc Antonio della Torre, from whom he obtained a more thorough and profound knowledge of anatomical science than he had hitherto enjoyed. Della Torre was at that time delivering lectures in Pavia, and expounding the doctrines of Galen, then almost unknown; and Leonardo filled a book with red-crayon sketches, outlined with the pen, of subjects revealed in his own dissections. "In this book," says Vasari, "he set forth the entire structure, arrangement, and disposition of the bones, to which he afterwards added all the nerves in their due order, and next supplied the muscles, of which the first are affixed to the bones, the second give the power of cohesion, or holding firmly, and the third impart that of motion. Of each separate part, he wrote a description, in rude characters." All these drawings were in the collections inherited and scattered by the Melzi family, and the red-crayon sketches are now in the British royal library. Dr. Hunter highly praised the exactness of these drawings, and cited them in his "Lectures," published at London in 1784.

The enlargement and improvement of the Martesan Canal was begun and carried on while 'The Last Supper' was being painted, and became Leonardo's most important work in hydraulic engineering. The canal is two hundred miles long, and brings the waters of the Adda through the Valtellina and across the Chiavenna district, contributing greatly to the fertility of the garden of Northern Italy, that land of glorious richness and beauty, over which rise the white spires of the snowy Alps.

In 1497, besides his work on the great refectory picture, the master made many miscellaneous drawings, mostly of an anatomical character, with heads of saints and dignitaries. He also engaged earnestly in the great engineering works, by which it was sought to make the rocky-bottomed and rapid river Adda navigable between Brizzio and Trezzo. It is probable that he planned the canals and dykes which afterwards accomplished this object.

Salaï, or Salaino, Leonardo's dear pupil, whom he called his son, is first mentioned during this year. It is thought that the master painted many of his angels' heads from this disciple, whom Vasari describes as "a youth of singular grace and beauty of person, with curling and wavy hair, a feature of personal beauty by which Leonardo was greatly pleased."

From 1496 until 1499, Leonardo dwelt in the same house with the celebrated Fra Luca Paciolo, author of the *De Divina Proportione*, for which the artist made sixty drawings. This book was not published until 1509, when it received a dedication to Soderini, the Gonfaloniere of Florence. Paciolo wrote the famous epigram, "Vinci [he conquers], in sculpture, in casts, and in painting — verifies his name with each." He had come from Florence to Milan, at Leonardo's suggestion, and the two compatriots made earnest and prolonged researches together.

The storm of war, always fatal to the arts, suddenly broke over Milan, when Louis XII. of France, claiming the Duchy by virtue of his being a grandson of the Visconti, its former rulers, took possession thereof with a powerful army. A year later, Lodovico attempted to regain it, but was betrayed by his army, and spent the last ten years of his life in a French prison at Loches. Between the time of Louis's advance and the final fall of the Duke, Leonardo obeyed his calm maxim, "Flee from storms!" and remained in quiet seclusion at the Villa Melzi. He also sent six hundred florins, in drafts on Piero Capponi and Taddeo Gaddi, to be deposited to his credit at the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, in Florence. It is probable that he also visited Venice during this period, early in the year 1500; and at that time he painted a portrait of the Duchess of Mantua.

The master had kept up a luxurious establishment at Milan, and was often seriously embarrassed by the nonpayment of his salary, especially when the Duke's power began to fail. Amoretti quotes a fragmentary letter from him in which he complains of the straits to which he was thus reduced, and the resulting discouragements. In 1499, the Duke granted him a vineyard containing seventeen perches of land, which Houssaye calls the adieu of Lodovico. This domain was situated near the Vercelline Gate.

Among Leonardo's writings are found detached notes of the ravages of war, as affecting his Milanese friends, from day to day. Among these items is the following, which seems almost heartless: "The Duke lost his state, his fortune, and his liberty; he has finished nothing which he began."

# CHAPTER III.

## The Last Supper.

THE Dominican monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie was the favorite sanctuary of the pious Duchess Beatrice, and whenever Lucrezia Crivelli's influence was not in the ascendant the Duke had large works of reconstruction and embellishment carried on there. Montorfani had already painted a Calvary in the refectory, and on either side thereof Leonardo placed kneeling portraits of Lodovico and Beatrice, and their children. These pictures have faded out entirely, leaving blank spaces, while the Calvary still remains.

The Grazie Church had a miracle-working image, like that in San Celso, and Beatrice's profound devotion, joined to the fitful pietistic moods of her husband, gave great honor to this shrine. At one time it seemed as if Lodovico was determined to make the convent as rich and splendid as the Cathedral and the Pavian Certosa, which the preceding dynasty had left as its monuments. Architects, sculptors, artists, and church-jewellers, were set to work there; and rare beauties were rising to crown their labors. Suddenly all this was stopped, for the fair Lucrezia Crivelli rewon the Duke's affections, and the poor Duchess was left to pine and pray alone.

'The Last Supper' was probably begun in the year 1496, in the refectory of Beatrice's favorite convent, and became the noblest manifestation of a theme in Christian art which had been neglected since the days of Giotto. Beatrice used to come to the Grazie Church almost daily, to abandon herself to pious meditations before the tomb of the good Duchess Bianca, and when she died, the melancholy and remorseful Lodovico raised a splendid monument to her memory. He also ordered a hundred masses for the repose of her soul to be said each day for a month, and urged forward the decorative works in her favorite sanctuary. Leonardo, no longer drawn away to court-feasts, now had time to give his deepest thought to 'The Last Supper,' whose grand significance he fully felt.

This masterpiece was painted in about three years. It had been commenced by 1497; for the convent architect in that year entered a charge for "works in the refectory where Leonardo is painting the Apostles." In February, 1498, Fra Paciolo wrote to the Duke that it was finished. The impatience of Lodovico, born of his remorse and sorrow, spurred the artist on to such purpose that he finished this immense work in less time than he gave to the single head of Monna Lisa.

Leonardo made a cartoon of the whole composition, and separate studies of each of the figures, executed in pastel, which Lomazzo says was a favorite method with him. Count Arconati acquired these studies, which afterwards were purchased by the British Consul at Venice; and ten of them are now in the Russian Palace of the Hermitage, having been owned successively by Sir Thomas Lawrence and the King of Holland. Three others were sold to an English lady.

The Prior of the monastery could not comprehend Leonardo's long meditations before the picture, and endeavored to incite him to more constant labor, complaining also to the Duke, who thereupon sent for the lagging artist. Let

Vasari tell the story in his own quaint way: "Leonardo, knowing the prince to be intelligent and judicious, determined to explain himself fully on the subject with him, although he had never chosen to do so with the Prior. He therefore discoursed with him at some length respecting art, and made it perfectly manifest to his comprehension, that men of genius are sometimes producing most when they seem to be laboring least, their minds being occupied in the elucidation of their ideas, and in the completion of those conceptions to which they afterwards give form and expression with the hand. He further informed the Duke that there were still wanting to him two heads, one of which, that of the Saviour, he could not hope to find on earth, and had not yet attained the power of presenting it to himself in imagination, with all that perfection of beauty and celestial grace which appeared to him to be demanded for the due representation of the Divinity Incarnate. The second head still wanting was that of Judas, which also caused him some anxiety, since he did not think it possible to imagine a form of feature that should properly render the countenance of a man who, after so many benefits received from his Master, had possessed a heart so depraved as to be capable of betraying his Lord and the Creator of the world. With regard to that second, however, he would make search; and after all, if he could find no better, he need never be at any great loss, for there would always be the head of that troublesome and impertinent Prior. This made the Duke laugh with all his heart. He declared Leonardo to be completely in the right; and the poor Prior, utterly confounded, went away to drive on the digging in his garden, and left Leonardo in peace." It is pleasant, however, to know that the popular belief that the artist did actually thus punish the Prior is incorrect, because that prelate's face was described in the monkish Latin of his time as quite different from that of the depicted Judas.

Bandello says that Leonardo often went to the convent at daybreak, and painted on his scaffolding until the evening came, so perfectly absorbed that he never thought of eating or drinking. "At other times he would remain three or four days without touching it, only coming for an hour or two, and remaining with crossed arms, contemplating his figures as if criticising them himself. . . . I have also seen him at midday, when the sun in the zenith causes all the streets of Milan to be deserted, set out in all haste from the citadel, where he was modelling his colossal horse, and, without seeking the shade, take the shortest road to the convent, where he would add a few strokes to one of his heads, and then return immediately."

Giraldi tells of Leonardo's manner of securing models for his heads; and that after long meditations as to the rank, age, and expressions proper to each subject of his pencil, he used to sally out on the streets, and scrutinize the passers, transferring to his sketch-books such traits as he could afterwards reunite for the desired head. More than any other of his works, 'The Last Supper' was founded on prolonged out-door studies of this character.

The general plan of 'The Last Supper' is familiar to every one, from the innumerable copies and photographs which have been made, the noble copies by Luini and Oggione, the engravings of Morghen and Dick, and the countless duplicates in costly mosaic and in coarse woodcuts, scattered by myriads throughout Christendom. The Saviour and His Apostles are seated at, or standing by a long table in a high and stately hall, with their faces or profiles turned towards the spectator. On the extreme left is St. Bartholomew, rising at the end of the table; St. James the Less comes next; then St. Andrew, holding up both hands; St. Peter, with a knife in his hand; Judas, holding the money-bag; and St. John, turning sadly towards St. Peter. Christ is in the centre, and on His right is St. Thomas with uplifted finger; St. James the Greater, his arms outspread; St. Philip, with his hands on his breast; St. Matthew, pointing to the central group; and at the end of the table, St. Thaddeus and St. Simon. The figures of the apostles are depicted with grand and powerful naturalism, showing the profound agitation aroused by the Saviour's amazing words. The moment chosen for portrayal is that which St. Matthew thus describes: "And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me; and they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say unto him, Lord, is it I?"

The head of Christ caused Leonardo to devote himself to long meditations, wrapped in the contemplation of its ideal divinity; and he used to say that his hand trembled whenever he attempted to paint it. At last, despairing of being able to attain perfection in this head, he asked counsel of his friend Bernardo Zenale, who said, "O Leonardo, the error into which thou hast fallen is one from which only the Divine Being Himself can deliver thee; for it is not in thy power, nor in that of any one else, to give greater divinity and beauty to any figures than thou hast done to these of James the Greater and the Less. Therefore be of good cheer, and leave the Christ imperfect; for thou wilt never be able to accomplish the Saviour after such apostles."

In the face and attitude of Christ the artist was certainly less successful than elsewhere, and it almost seems that he left these unfinished, in sheer despair, as Lomazzo has carefully recorded. The Abbé Guillon says that in painting the costume he "bore in mind the color and texture of the true garment of Christ, preserved in an Italian church." The face is refined, melancholy, dignified, and almost effeminate. Some see in it the passionless calm of the Greek gods, and others find there the Byzantine type of Christ, beautified and softened.

Herein we see the high demands made upon himself by this conscientious master, whom Hamerton well calls "a transcendentalist in art," and Dolce characterizes as "a sublime genius, always discontented with his own works."

The rapid deterioration of the great painting was due mainly to the injudicious manner in which it was executed. Lomazzo and Armenini both state that it was not done in tempera but in oils, and doubtless in one of the unsafe experimental methods which the master was always trying. But few works of art have suffered such deplorable vicissitudes as this, which the wrath of the elements and the folly of man seem to have conspired to destroy. In 1515, it was still perfect; and King Francis I. was so struck with its beauty that he made many attempts to find architects who could detach it from the wall, and transport it to France, defended by braces and covers of iron and wood. Failing in this endeavor, he had a copy made by Luini, which was placed in the Church of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, at Paris. Twenty-five years later, Armenini said that it was half destroyed; and in 1585, Lomazzo mourned it as "utterly ruined." In the mean time, an inundation had laid the refectory under water for many days, and saturated the already damp walls. A few years later, Cardinal Borromeo said that only the relics of the picture remained visible; and, in 1624, the Carthusian Sanese found nothing to be seen there. The monks of the convent aided in the destruction by cutting a doorway through the lower part of the picture, thus removing the feet of Christ and the nearest apostles.

In 1726, the Dominicans employed Belotti, a mediocre artist, to restore the picture, and he painted it all over, except a few hand-breadths of sky. About fifty years later, another bungler in colors, one Mazza, was set to work here, and overlaid the whole fresco with a neutral color, on which he repainted everything except the heads of Sts. Matthew, Thaddeus, and Simon. Before he had polluted these, the indignant Milanese compelled him to stop, and the Prior of the convent was banished. In 1796, Napoleon's cavalry turned the hall into a stable (in spite of express orders to the contrary), and the troopers amused themselves by throwing bricks and shooting pistol-balls at the heads of the Apostles. Four years later, there was another inundation, and the refectory laid under water for fifteen days. During the Austrian domination of Lombardy, the imperial arms were nailed on the wall, over the head of Christ; and Sir David Wilkie wrote: — "Here time has been more unsparing than is his wont — a shadow is all that remains of this once great work."

At one time Bossi, the Secretary of the Academy, called the attention of Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy, to the ruined picture, and was commissioned to make a cartoon of it, the size of the original. He recomposed the work from Leonardo's drawings and the older copies, and a mosaic was executed therefrom, and is now in a Viennese church. In 1853, the original was repainted by Barozzi, and so thoroughly that Taine said, thirteen years later, that 'The Last Supper' was no longer visible.

The photographs show the picture, not as Leonardo left it, but as the restorers have utterly recolored it, so that none of the present coloring is of the fifteenth century. But the general design, the composition, and the harmonious grouping of Leonardo's work are still apparent, and make even this ruin a thing of deathless beauty. Few pictures have been so much written about, and so variously translated in books, arranging from Bossi's voluminous *Del Cenacolo* and Rio's ultramontane rhapsodies to the platitudes of the average scribbling tourists.

The first famous engraving of the picture was made by Raphael Morghen, about the year 1800, and nearly fifty years later a very successful engraving was made by the American, Archibald L. Dick.

# CHAPTER IV.

Return to Florence. — Perugino and Botticelli. — Monna Lisa. — Service with Borgia. — Rivalry with Michael Angelo. — The Cartoons.

EARLY in the year 1500, Leonardo re-entered Florence, after an absence of nineteen years. During this time Savonarola had fought his battles and lost his life, and the Medici had been driven into exile, where they were ceaselessly plotting against the Republic. Old lights of art had vanished, — Baccio della Porta into a convent, and Lorenzo di Credi under clouds of despair, — and new ones had risen, — Francia, Signorelli, Filippino Lippi, Sandro Botticelli, Perugino; and Michael Angelo and Raphael were just advancing into fame. But Leonardo was recognized as the foremost of all these, for the renown of his works at Milan had long preceded him. He settled in the city, and shared his house with his old friend, Fra Paciolo, and the beautiful youth, Salai.

Perugino visited his old comrade at this time, and perhaps led with him his bright pupil, Raphael of Urbino. Somehow, at least, the youth came under Leonardo's influence, and his pictures of this period strongly reflect the manner of the elder artist. There is a portrait of a young man, in the Uffizi Gallery, which has often been referred to Leonardo's hand; and Bottari is highly of the opinion that this youth was Raphael.

Another artist whom Leonardo often met, in friendly guise, was Sandro Botticelli, his senior by a few years, and already celebrated for his frescos in the Sistine Chapel. In one of his writings, Da Vinci speaks of Botticelli as his friend, and regrets his depreciation of landscape-painting. Fra Bartolommeo also came under Leonardo's influence, soon afterwards, and derived the greatest benefit from studying his manner of painting.

The Servite monks had commissioned Filippino Lippi to paint an altar-piece for the Annunziata Church, and when Lippi heard that Leonardo had expressed a wish for that work, he graciously withdrew in his favor. The monks took their new artist into the convent, with all his household, but he delayed the execution of their picture for a long time, and finally produced the cartoon of

'The Madonna, St. Anna, and the Infant Christ, which is now in the Royal Academy at London. Vasari says that "the chamber wherein it stood was crowded for two days by men and women, old and young; a concourse, in fact, such as one sees flocking to the most solemn festivals, all hastening to see the wonders produced by Leonardo, and which awakened amazement in the whole people." But the impatient artist did not paint a picture from the cartoon, and the monks were obliged to get their altar-piece done by Lippi and Perugino.

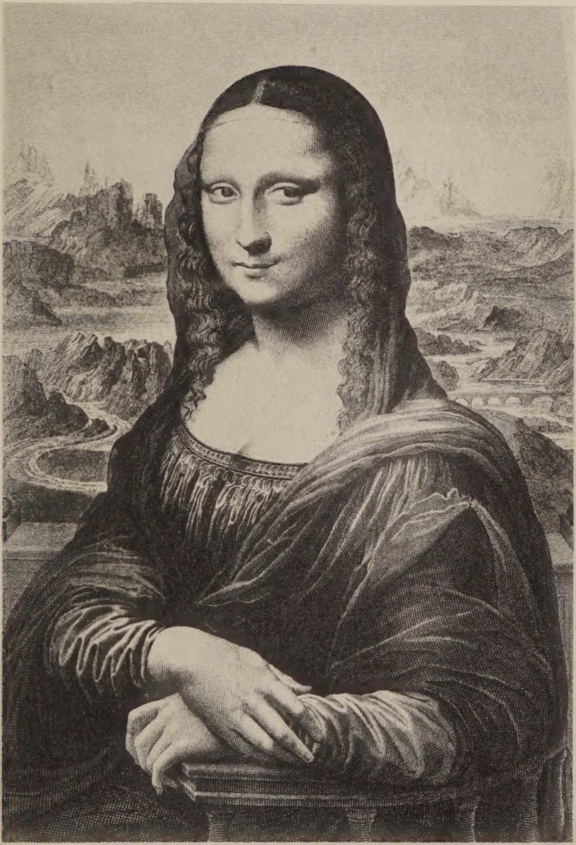
Another beautiful work of this time was the portrait of Ginevra Benci, one of the most famous of the Florentine beauties, who was also painted in two of Ghirlandajo's frescos, at the Sassetti Chapel. Amerigo Benci, her father, was Leonardo's landlord, so that he frequently saw the fair lady, and her portrait is now in the great Uffizi Gallery. Rosini, the historian of Italian art, had another charming picture of Ginevra, from Leonardo's easel. The arch smile peculiar to the master's female portraits still broods on her sweet lips, and is echoed from her tender and languid eyes.

There is a very beautiful female head by Leonardo, in the Augsburg Gallery, which Houssaye calls "a sister of the 'Monna Lisa' in artistic beauty and perfection."

Monna Lisa was the subject of Leonardo's most marvellous portrait, the *La Joconde*, which now adorns the Louvre, and which has been called, by some critics, his supreme masterpiece. She was a beautiful woman, the third wife of Francesco del Giocondo, and, as some suppose, the one most beloved of the artist's soul. Profounder minds see in this work the crystallization of Leonardo's haunting ideals of supreme beauty, filled with mystery and glamour, and the deepest and most subtle expression, — the final effort which was to the Tuscan dreamer what the Melencolia was to him of Nuremberg. Pater says, "Here is the head upon which all 'the ends of the earth are come,' and the eyelids are a little weary. It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions."

Perhaps the words of the ancient critic, Félibien, express the matter still better: "It has so much grace, and such sweetness in the eyes and features, that it appears almost living; and it seems to one who sees this portrait, that it is that of *a woman* *who takes pleasure in being admired.*" The hands are conspicuously shown, and are of most exquisite shape, but have become very dark in color. Indeed, the whole picture has deteriorated in this regard, and we no longer see the vivid carnations and warm flesh-tints which fascinated the contemporaries of Francis I. The background is a brilliant dream of Alpine scenery; and the entire work is so exquisitely finished that we may well believe the statement of the ancients, that Leonardo devoted four years to this single picture.

The 'Monna Lisa' was retained by Leonardo (and not by the lady's husband,) until he sold it to the French King for the enormous sum of three thousand golden crowns ($9,000). Says Vasari: "Monna Lisa was exceedingly beautiful, and while Leonardo was painting her portrait, he took the precaution of keeping some one constantly near her, to sing or play on instruments, or to jest and otherwise amuse her, to the end that she might continue cheerful, and so that her face might not exhibit the melancholy expression often imparted by painters to the likenesses they take. In this portrait of Leonardo's, on the contrary, there is so pleasing an expression, and a smile so sweet,



that while looking at it one thinks it rather divine than human." Rio, the historian of Christian art, regarded the 'Monna Lisa' as "one of the rarest *chefs-d'œuvre* that ever issued from the pencil of an artist." It was duplicated in hundreds of copies, attesting the admiration of all schools of art.

In 1502, Cæsar Borgia, the usurping Duke of Romagna and Urbino, who was ambitious of being King of Italy, appointed Leonardo his general engineer, and sent him out to inspect the fortresses in his domains, bearing the following commission:—

"Cæsar Borgia of France: By the Grace of God, Duke of Romagna and Valentinois, Prince of Adria, and Lord of Piombino: To all our lieutenants, castellans, captains, free-lances, officials, soldiers, and subjects, to whom this notice shall come, we commit and command that to our most skilful and worthy Architect and Engineer-General, Leonardo Vinci, who by our commission is to examine the strong places and fortresses of our States, in order that we may provide for them according to their need and his judgment, they may give free passage and exemption from the public tax-duties, both for him and his company, and that they shall receive him as a friend, and allow him to see, measure, and examine as much as he will. And to this effect let men be summoned to his requisition, and lend him whatever assistance, aid and favor he may wish."

Well compensated and honored by this liberal ruffian, the master made extensive and profitable travels throughout Central Italy, of which he left many notes. In the summer of 1502, he designed new stairways and ramparts to the Citadel of Urbino; and after that time we find him at Pesaro, devising machinery; at Rimini, admiring the music of its fountains; at Cesena, planning better methods of transporting grapes; and at Cesenatico, arranging to make a new gateway. He returned to Florence by way of Imola, Faenza, and Forli; and thence undertook an excursion to Chiusi, Perugia, and Foligno, making careful studies of a clock at Siena, and noting the regular cadence of the waves on the sea-shore at Piombino. He probably did something at this time in an art which he had successfully practised in Lombardy,— that of founding cannon. It appears that Leonardo also painted Borgia's portrait, which the Count de Betz recognized at Bologna in 1845. During the next summer, Cæsar Borgia's father

Pope Alexander VI., died of poison, which he and his son had prepared for a guest and accidentally drank themselves; and Cæsar himself was severely affected by the same visitation. Before his recovery, Pope Julius II., had counteracted his schemes, and the baffled conspirator fled to Spain, leaving his engineer to resume the practice of art. The hand which painted 'The Last Supper' was thus freed from the strange task of drawing batteries and planning redoubts.

Early in 1503, Leonardo was in Florence, and acted on the committee to choose a fitting place for Michael Angelo's great statue of David. In the summer, he was sent by the republic to the camp near Pisa, to consider the plans for diverting the Arno, and fortifying the position against the enemy. At several times during the year he drew fifty florins from his deposit at Sta. Maria Nuova. In the ensuing winter he visited Rome, and painted the picture of the Virgin and Child, with its donor, in the Convent of St. Onofrio, his only work in fresco, and still in good preservation. It is supposed that he was invited to this task by Pinturicchio, the pupil of his old friend, Perugino, who was engaged in frescoing the

Church of St. Onofrio. The picture has recently been restored, on a gold background, by Palmaroli.

At last Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci were placed in direct competition with each other, when Soderini, who had been elected Gonfaloniere for life in 1502, and had been the friend of both, commissioned them to adorn the walls of the Great Hall in the Palazzo Vecchio with two large mural paintings. Angelo chose a scene in the Pisan war, where a company of Florentine soldiers were surprised by the enemy while bathing in the Arno; and thus sought opportunity to exhibit his knowledge of the human form. But Leonardo, one of the most skilful of equestrians, had studied the structure and habits of horses until he was altogether familiar with them; and so he chose for his subject a cavalry combat, where men and horses were raging and struggling in a pell-mell conflict, blind with the thirst of blood. 'The Battle of the Standard' was an episode of the battle of Anghiari, which the Florentines fought against the North-Italians. The master worked on his cartoon in the Hall of the Pope, at the Church of Sta. Maria Novella, but in such a dilatory manner that it was not finished until the close of 1506. He was allowed a salary of fifteen florins a month, and the assistance of several other painters. When the two masterpieces were exhibited to public view, the Italian art-world was filled with vehement discussions, and all Florence hastened to compare the mighty works. It was a duel of Titans in art, and Raphael was a spectator. Both the cartoons have now vanished, and only copies of parts of them remain, that of Leonardo being a reproduction by Rubens of the central group in 'The Battle of the Standard,' a splendid work, but evidently tinged with Flemish character. It has been suggested, indeed, that Rubens never saw Leonardo's composition, but painted his picture from Vasari's long and graphic description thereof.

Before beginning his cartoon, Leonardo gathered all the accessible facts about the battle of Anghiari, which are still preserved, in his own handwriting, and convey the idea of a terrific contest. Yet Macchiavelli says that there was but one man killed in this battle, and even he was slain accidentally by the kick of a horse; and thus illustrates the exceeding distaste of Italians for scenes of actual peril and suffering. In Leonardo's account we see the Milanese chief advancing by San Sepolcro, with forty companies of cavalry and two thousand infantry, and storming the bridge, while the venerable Patriarch of Aquileia, directing the Florentines, sees and converses with a vision of St. Peter in the clouds, and then places his artillery so that it decimates the enemy. As a matter of course, the side which commanded the services of the Prince of the Apostles, the heaviest cannon, an archiepiscopal artillerist, and the painter, was bound to win the day.

Neither of the artists painted their pictures in the Great Hall. Angelo never began his; and Leonardo, attempting to paint the wall in encaustic (having covered it with wax and a solvent, with gum to harden the mixture), was so discouraged at seeing the colors sink into the prepared cement, and the entire wall-covering melt and run down when he built fires on the floor to dry it, that he abandoned the work, after painting for five months, and that which he had done faded away before many years had passed. He had already received money on this commission, and the Gonfaloniere justly reproached him for giving up a task for which he had been paid in advance. With the help of his friends, the artist collected a sum equal to that which he had drawn, and carried it to Soderini, who generously refused to take the money. He had previously been greatly annoyed by the Florentine treasurer, who paid him a sum due for certain works, in copper coin, which, however, Leonardo angrily refused, saying, "I am not a painter for pennies."

The following anecdote is preserved in an old Florentine MS.: "Leonardo was of a handsome person, graceful, and with a beautiful countenance. He wore a short rose-colored cloak, reaching the knee only, at a time when long robes were in vogue; and he had a magnificent head of hair, which fell in curls and carefully dressed, as far down as his breast. Leonardo passing by Sta. Trinità from the Spini, where there was a meeting of honorable men disputing about a passage of Dante, they called to him requesting him to explain it. It happened by chance that at that moment Michael Angelo came in sight, and was called by one of those present, when Leonardo said that Michael Angelo would explain the passage. But the latter thought that he was being mocked, and cried out, 'Explain it yourself, who designed a horse to be cast in bronze, which you could not cast, and shamefully gave up.' And so saying, he turned his back and went on his way, adding, whilst Leonardo reddened at these words intended to wound him: 'And you were believed in by these Milanese blockheads.'"

Leonardo was then fifty-seven years old, and Angelo was twenty-seven; and we may well believe that the courtly dignity of the elder master was often sorely tried by the irascibility and bitterness of his young rival. In the contest of the cartoons both artists won high praise, and it would be difficult to say which was the victor.

At this time Leonardo worked out a new scheme, and made drawings by means of which he "often sought to prove to the different citizens — many of them men of great discernment — who then governed Florence, that the Church of San Giovanni (the Baptistery) in that city could be raised, and steps placed beneath it, without injury to the edifice; he supported his assertions with reasons so persuasive, that while he spoke the undertaking seemed feasible, although every one of his hearers, when he had departed, could see for himself that

such a thing was impossible." American engineers of the present day would find but little difficulty in raising the venerable Baptistery, or even in moving it, intact, to Fiesole; and it is to be regretted that Da Vinci was not allowed to make the attempt which he so earnestly desired.

Leonardo's skill in statuary is also attested by three bronze figures over the portal of the Baptistery, at Florence. They were cast by Rustici, under the master's supervision, and Vasari praises them as "without doubt the most beautiful castings that have been seen in these later days, whether for design or finish." The models were made while the master was finishing his cartoon.

In the summer of 1504, Ser Piero da Vinci died, at the venerable age of seventy-seven, leaving behind him ten sons and two daughters. His most illustrious son now had serious difficulties with the other children, who insisted on his illegitimacy, and refused to allow him any part in the paternal estate. But Leonardo would not yield without a struggle, and brought the controversy into the courts, where it long remained.

In the springtime of 1505, Leonardo was at Barbiga, near Fiesole, where he observed and described the flight of birds of prey.

## CHAPTER V.

Second Sojourn at Milan. — Patronage of the King of France. — High Prosperity. — Family Litigations. — A Group of Pictures.

In the meantime, Leonardo's plans for diverting the Arno from its course, near Pisa, had failed utterly, although Florence had spent an enormous sum of money to carry them out. He was deeply mortified at this costly blunder, and at the murmurs which doubtless arose against his lack of sagacity. Younger men were now contesting his laurels, while a generation had arisen which knew him not, and the superior radiance of the stars of Angelo and Raphael was dimming the light of his glory. There were no longer any family ties to detain him in Tuscany, and he began to look abroad for a new home, remote from the disappointments and the fierce rivalries of the City of the Lilies.

For this reason he readily accepted an invitation to revisit Milan, which was sent by the French Governor of the Duchy, the prudent and enlightened George d'Amboise, Marshal de Chaumont. The Sforzas were no longer in Lombardy, but under the benign rule of Louis XII. and his Governor prosperity returned, with abundant blessings, and the great works on the Cathedral were resumed. Leonardo wished indeed to settle permanently in his adopted city, but could not do so, on account of his engagement with the Florentine Republic. He went out to Villa Melzi for a visit, early in the next summer, for a fragment of one of his letters has been found, dated at Vaprio, July 5th, 1507, and saying, "My dear mother and sister, I send you advices that I am in good health, by the grace of God."

Early in the year the King of France told the Florentine ambassador that he wished to retain Leonardo in his own service, having seen and admired a painting by his hand, saying that he desired him to execute "Certain small pictures of Our Lady and others, according as the idea occurs to me; perhaps also I shall get him to paint my portrait." Pandolfini, the ambassador, reported this conversation to his government, and Marshal de Chaumont also wrote from Milan to ask Soderini to allow the artist to remain.

But the Gonfaloniere answered, dryly and justly: "Your Lordship must excuse us from granting the delay which you have asked for Leonardo da Vinci, who has not comported himself as he ought towards this Republic, since he has accepted a large sum of money and gives in return but a feeble beginning to the great work which he engaged to do. Do not solicit us further, because his task should be finished to the satisfaction of our people, and we cannot wait longer, without injury."

Later in the summer, Leonardo returned to Florence, to claim a part in the estates of his father and his uncle, from which the other members of the family tried to exclude him. He was preceded by the following letter: —

"To our very dear and great friends, allies, and confederates, the perpetual Gonfaloniere and Seigniory of Florence: — LOUIS, by the grace of God King of France, Duke of Milan, Lord of Genoa:

VERY DEAR AND GREAT FRIENDS: —

We have been notified that our dear and well-beloved Leonardo da Vinci, our painter and engineer, has some dispute and process pending at Florence against his brothers on account of certain inheritances; and since he cannot give himself up to this business because of the continual occupation which he has near and about our person; also because we earnestly desire that an end may be put to the said process as quickly as justice will allow; for these reasons we have written to you. And we pray you to close the said process and suit as soon as justice can be done; and you will please us greatly by so doing. . . . LOUIS."

Leonardo also bore a letter, conceived in a similar strain, from the Marshal de Chaumont to the Gonfaloniere Soderini, and the latter ordered the judge to decide the case before All Saints' Day. Upon this the artist wrote to the Cardinal d'Este, whom he had known when Archbishop of Milan, stating the case at issue, and requesting the Cardinal to use his well-known influence with the Lord Raphael Theronymo, who had been assigned to try the process, "recommending to him Leonardo Vincio, the most devoted servant of your Lordship, as I still call myself and always shall remain, begging and charging him not only to do me justice, but to give me a speedy decision." It is not known which of the contestants won the suit, but at any rate it was quickly settled or postponed, for the master was back at Milan by winter. The frequent visits which he afterwards made to Florence on this business, warrant us in believing that the Tuscan lawyers retained the case in court for several years, devouring the DaVinci estate at their leisure.

At one time during this year of troubles, Leonardo had only thirty crowns left, and he gave thirteen of these to Salaï to make up the marriage-portion of his sister.

Between 1507 and 1511, Leonardo was at the summit of honor and greatness, when surrounded and revered by his old pupils, generously befriended by Marshal de Chaumont, and highly esteemed by his many friends. Louis XII. appointed him Painter to the King, but it is not known precisely what pictures he executed during these years, especially since Vasari is silent about that part of his life between 1504 and 1515. His labors were mostly in building hydraulic works, the chief of which were the improvements in the great Martesan Canal, which he had planned for the Sforzas, and now executed for their conqueror. There were numerous grave difficulties connected with this task, and lengthy notes are found thereon in his MSS.

The king rewarded his engineer-painter by presenting him with twelve ounces of water, to be taken from the Grand Canal, near San Cristoforo; certainly a curious gift, and also a valuable one, for he often wrote to De Chaumont, Melzi, and the President of the Milan Water-Works, insisting on his claim. It is supposed that the gift was the permanent control of as much water as could be drawn off in a pipe twelve inches in diameter, to be applied to any purpose which he pleased. He could sell it to adjacent land-owners for irrigation, or use it for hydraulic purposes, and thus get a fixed revenue, or great facilities for experimenting. He does not seem to have used the gift, however, although it was carefully disposed of in his will, as something of value. In connection with the canal was the great basin at San Cristoforo, which Leonardo designed and supervised, and from thence, it is seen, his reward was to be drawn.

He wrote a pamphlet, in 1508, on the Martesan Canal, and devoted much of the next year to constructing the great docks and basins at Milan. Probably also, he planned many mills, for fulling and other purposes, since he had a thorough understanding of this work, and Vasari says that he frequently utilized it.

In March, 1509, he made a visit to Florence, probably to take care of new litigations with his brothers. It is supposed that he returned to Milan by June, and superintended the splendid celebrations which took place there when Louis XII. returned from his victory over the Venetians, at Agnadello. In common with the Milanese citizens, he now always spoke of Louis as "*Our* most Christian King." Frequent journeys now took place between Florence and Milan, while he continued his contest with the Da Vincis. In March, 1510, he designed a wharf on the Great Canal, at Milan; and a few months later he wrote from Florence, telling of the progress of the lawsuit. However this contest in the courts may have terminated, Leonardo was afterwards reconciled with his brothers, and bequeathed to them his property at Florence.

The wise Marshal de Chaumont died in 1511; and, during the next year, the French army made a fearful sack of Brescia. This terrible event aroused all Lombardy against the foreign occupants; and after the battle of Ravenna, when the

French, though victorious, suffered such heavy losses, a Swiss army occupied Milan, in the name of Maximilian Sforza, Lodovico's son. Maximilian himself soon entered the city, under the triumphal arches which had been erected for his antagonist; and the war between the French and North-Italians spread throughout all Lombardy, carrying with it unnumbered woes. Leonardo's hopes were shattered by this great change, although he was immediately employed by the new Duke, Maximilian, who had his portrait painted twice.

During these seven years of Leonardo's second residence at Milan, he was in the maturity of his powers; and it was evident that not all his time was occupied in engineering. To this period, therefore, the critics assign several of his undated pictures. One of these was the portrait of Marshal Trivulzio, a Milanese general, whom Louis XII. made governor of a part of Lombardy, and who commanded under Francis I., at the battle of Marignano. Some critics suppose that this portrait is now in the Dresden Gallery, — the same which is also called Lodovico Sforza. Others think that Holbein painted this fine picture, and that it represents Morett, the jeweller of Henry VIII., of England. 'La Monaca,' now in the Pitti Palace, is a picture of a young nun, with a face of alluring beauty, and is probably the same which Leonardo's brother-in-law gave to Cardinal Salviati, in 1536.

'La Colombine,' or 'Flora,' is the picture of a beautiful woman, in blue drapery, now at the Hague, where the Hollanders call it 'Frivolity,' or 'Vanity.' It is believed by many critics that it was a portrait of the celebrated Diana of Poictiers, while others see in it a mysterious representation of some dreamy conceit of the artist. Several copies and perhaps replicas of this figure are still in existence. Another picture which Rumohr assigns to this period is the 'Leda,' where the bride of Jupiter, perfectly nude, is seen, with two children, and the new-born Castor and Pollux, near a far-winding and reedy-margined river, with a mountain range in the distance. This was one of the very few nude figures which Leonardo painted (although so familiar with anatomy), and also one of his five classical compositions. Leda was once provided with garments by some prudish barbarians, and renamed 'Charity;' but since its journeys from the Hesse-Cassel Gallery to Malmaison and the Hague, it has been restored to its former estate of undraped purity. There are three pictures in Roman palaces, representing 'Vanity' and 'Modesty' in the usual allegorical manner; but the doubting Germans refer all these to Leonardo's pupils, Luini and Salaï. Viardot, however, says of the one in the Sciarra Palace, "Its admirable beauty does not permit of doubts as to its authenticity."

Another picture painted at Milan was the 'St. Sebastian,' probably an emblematic portrait of some eminent person in the city. It was bought at Turin, about the year 1805, by the famous Dubois, who was forming a gallery for a young Italian prince. When the latter died, the picture was taken to Paris; and, in 1860, the Czar of Russia paid $12,000 for it, and removed it to the Hermitage Palace.

The most familiar portrait of Leonardo is that which he made of himself, in the year 1512, showing a venerable old man, with long and flowing hair, thick gray beard, large and mobile black eyes, and an aquiline nose. This is the picture now in the Uffizi Gallery, from which so many engravings have been made. Other portraits of the master, drawn by himself, in red or black chalk, are found at Windsor Castle, the Venetian Academy, at Milan, and in the Esterhazy Gallery, at Pest.

Caterina di San Celso was now the reigning beauty at Milan, famous for her songs, her dancing, and her fascinating face, which had conquered even King Louis himself. Rio says that this fair enchantress was Leonardo's model when he painted the 'St. Catherine of Alexandria,' perhaps the sublime picture at St. Petersburg, which Stendhal attributes to Leonardo. There are many other St. Catherines which their possessors refer to the same hand, to the great wrath of the art-critics.

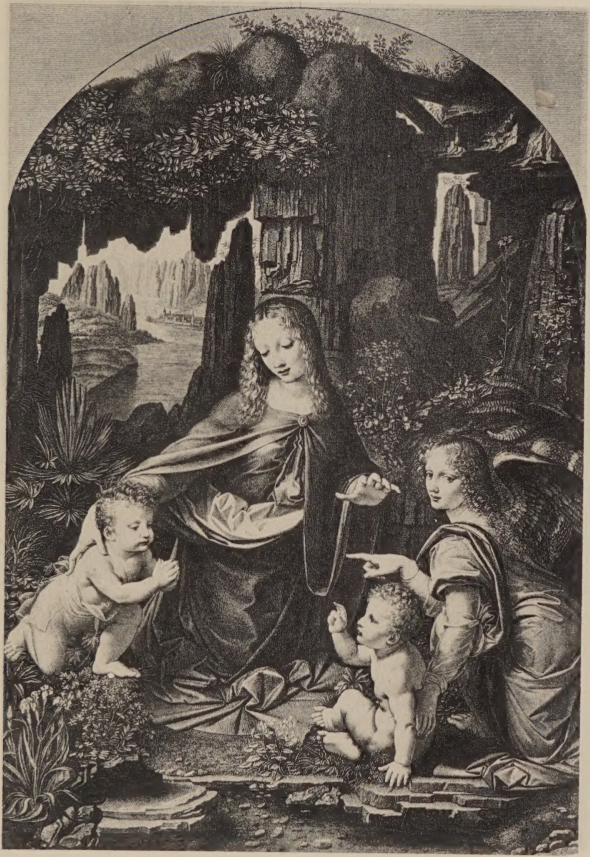
About this time, Leonardo was commissioned by the noble Florentine, Camillo degli Albizzi, to paint a picture of St. John the Baptist. This famous work was subsequently taken to Spain, and was seen by Mengs in the possession of the Princess of the Asturias.

Another picture of the same subject afterwards passed into the hands of Louis XIII., who gave it to Charles I. of England, in exchange for Holbein's 'Erasmus' and Titian's 'Holy Family.' Cromwell owned it, in his turn; and finally the amateur Jabach sold it to the Louvre, where it still remains, looking more like an antique Bacchus than the great Forerunner.

Two Madonnas were also painted for the King of France; and Leonardo wrote from Florence that he hoped to finish them by the Easter of 1511. These have disappeared; and Rio thinks that they were taken to England when Henrietta Maria married Charles I., and perished in the conflagration at Whitehall Palace. Three of Leonardo's pictures were destroyed at that time, and probably these were among them.

'The Virgin among the Rocks' (*La Vierge aux Rochers*) is one of the most exquisite of the Italian Madonnas. There are three representations of this scene, of which that in the Louvre is best known, and the one in the Duke of Suffolk's collection has the highest claims to originality. Waagen and Passavant stigmatize the Louvre picture as a copy, and prefer Suffolk's canvas, which was bought, in 1796, by Gavin Hamilton, for thirty sequins. Théophile Gautier has described this composition as follows: "The aspect of the Virgin is mysterious and charming. A grotto of basaltic rocks shelters the divine group, who are sitting on the margin of a clear spring, in the transparent depths of which we see the pebbles of its bed. Through the arcade of the grotto, we discover a rocky landscape, with a few scattered trees, and crossed by a stream, on the banks of which rises a village. . . . Her head is spherical in form; the forehead well developed; the fine oval of her cheeks is gracefully rounded, so as to inclose a chin most delicately curved; the eyes with lowered lids inclosed with shadow; and the nose, not on a line with the forehead, like that of a Greek statue, but still finely cut."

For the Church of San Celso the master painted his celebrated composition of 'The Virgin Seated on the Knees of St. Anna,' which was afterwards replaced by a copy, and is now in the Louvre. The miracles attributed to the image of the Virgin at San Celso (which continued until 1845) attracted such a vast wealth of offerings to that church that its clergy commissioned Bramante, Raphael, and Leonardo to execute works of adornment therefor. Leonardo's picture was so



famous that Bishop Giovio thought it enough to insure his fame forever, and many repetitions were made by Salaï, Luini, and others, for the Italian churches. Waagen, Rosini, and Delécluze challenge the authenticity of the picture at the Louvre, and Passavant, Taine, and Houssaye defend it. In a light-toned rocky landscape the Virgin is seen seated on St. Anna's knees, and the Infant Saviour is playing with a lamb. As Gautier says: "The head of the Virgin is exquisitely fine in outline; her face beams with virginal grace and maternal love; her eyes are bathed in tenderness, and her half-smiling mouth has that indefinable expression of which Leonardo alone knew the secret."

## CHAPTER VI.

The Exodus of Leonardo's School. — Leonardo at Rome. — Leo X. — Pictures Painted at Rome. — The Old Master Overmatched.

THE wars and confusions which were sweeping through Lombardy rendered that country an uncongenial home for the tranquil Leonardo, who finally made ready to seek a more peaceful abode. In September, therefore, the patriarch of Milanese art set out on a long journey to Central Italy, attended by his devoted and filial disciples, Melzi, Salaï, Giovanni Beltraffio, Lorenzo (a Florentine pupil), and Fanfoia. After remaining for a short time in Florence, under the new Medici *regime*, the little band of artists joined the train of the Duke Giuliano de' Medici, and went to Rome. Michael Angelo was in Florence at that time, and, as Vasari says, "there was great disdain between Michael Angelo Buonaroti and Leonardo." The great architect either followed his rival to Rome, or else plotted against him there, reviving the jealousy of the previous years. Raphael, on the other hand, treated him with honor and courtesy.

Pope Leo X. received Leonardo very cordially, and bade him "work for the glory of God, Italy, Leo X., and Leonardo da Vinci;" but gave him no commission of importance, since the strong Anti-Gallican feeling then prevailing at Rome naturally antagonized an artist who had been so long connected with the French. The Pope, indeed, valued him chiefly as an alchemist, and Vasari thus describes some of his achievements in this direction: "Leonardo, having composed a kind of paste from wax, made of this, while it was still in its half-liquid state, certain figures of animals, entirely hollow, and exceedingly slight in texture, which he then filled with air. When he blew into these figures, he would make them fly into the air, but when the air within them had escaped they fell to the ground. One day the vine-dresser of the Belvedere found a very curious lizard, and for this creature Leonardo constructed wings, made from the skins of other lizards flayed for the purpose · into these wings he put quicksilver, so that when the animal walked, the wings moved also, with a tremulous motion; he then made eyes, horns, and a beard for the creature, which he tamed and kept in a case; he would then show it to the friends who came to visit him, and all who saw it ran away terrified. He more than once, likewise, caused the intestines of a sheep to be cleaned and scraped until they were brought into such a state of tenuity that they could be held within the hollow of the hand. Having then placed in a neighboring chamber a pair of blacksmiths bellows, to which he had made fast one end of the intestines, he would blow into them until he caused them to fill the whole room, which was a very large one, insomuch that whoever might be therein was compelled to take refuge in a corner; he thus showed them transparent and full of wind, remarking that whereas they had previously been contained within a small compass, they were now filling all space, and this, he would say, was a fit emblem of talent or genius. He made numbers of these follies in various kinds, occupied himself much with mirrors and optical instruments, and made the most singular experiments in seeking oils for painting, and varnishes to preserve the work when executed."

The description of the metamorphosed lizard illustrates one of Leonardo's favorite amusements, in which he spent much valuable time. Among his papers, we find the following extraordinary prescription: "If you wish to make a chimera, or imaginary animal, appear natural (let us suppose a serpent), take the head of a mastiff, the eyes of a cat, the ears of a porcupine, the mouth of a hare, the brows of a lion, the temples of an old cock, and the neck of a sea-tortoise."

Baldassare Turini, of Pescia, Raphael's friend and Leo's almoner, secured two pictures from Leonardo, which long remained in the Turini family, but are now lost. One of these was a careful and very beautiful Madonna and Child; the other was a picture of an infant, "which is beautiful and graceful to a miracle." Mr. James Jackson Jarves thinks that the Madonna is the picture which he acquired, now in the Yale-College Gallery; but Houssaye says it is now in the Munich Gallery, and somewhat resembles 'The Virgin among the Rocks.'

It is supposed that Leonardo painted for Leo X. the beautiful 'Holy Family of St. Petersburg,' wherein the Virgin is seen holding the Holy Child, to whom St. John offers a tazza, while St. Joseph and St. Catherine stand in the back ground. The latter is supposed to have been a portrait of the beautiful Princess Philiberta of Savoy, the bride of Giuliano de' Medici. Viardot and other critics refuse to consider this work as Leonardo's; but Passavant affirms it. Pagavi thought it so beautiful that he held that it was marked with Da Vinci's monogram to prevent it from being attributed to Raphael; and Stendhal says that "Leonardo never painted anything better or more sublime." When the Germans plundered Mantua, this picture vanished from the ducal palace, and long afterwards fell into the possession of the Abbé Salvadori, a secretary of the Count Firmian, Governor of Mantua. The Abbé hid the picture, lest Firmian should compel him to restore it to the palace; and after his death it was secretly forwarded to Mori, a village of the district of Trent, where Salvadori's heirs, long afterwards, sold it to the Empress Catherine of Russia.

'The Madonna of the Bas-relief' is in the possession of Lord Monson; and Passavant calls it "one of the best preserved works of Leonardo, an admirable and original picture," though certain other critics consider it as a skilful copy. It is similar in composition to the Holy Family at the Hermitage, save that St. Zacharias is substituted for St. Catherine, and derives its name from a bit of bas-relief in the lower left corner. Cardinal Fesch also owned a picture similar to this; and the Duke of Melzi has another, in his palace at Milan, which is attributed to Cesare da Sesto.

The infant picture of Turini is supposed by Lanzi to be the same which is now in the municipal palace at Bologna, — a Child Jesus, lying in a rich cradle ornamented with pearls, His head surrounded by a luminous circle. Stendhal also believes that this work was by Leonardo.

After the master had closely studied Angelo's famous fresco of 'The Last Judgment,' he turned aside and said, "Michael Angelo is a great man; but he has few models for so many figures," — a criticism which has often been repeated by modern connoisseurs.

Vasari says that when Leo X. commissioned Leonardo to paint a certain picture, he began to distil oils and prepare herbs for the varnish before commencing the design, at which the Pope exclaimed, "Alas! this man will assuredly do nothing at all, since he is thinking of the end before he has made a beginning of his work." This remark was quickly borne to the painter, to whom it caused the greatest displeasure.

It was impossible for the veteran artist, who had so long been the first master in Northern Italy, to content himself as the third at Rome, where Raphael and Angelo received all the most honorable commissions, and he was treated rather as a skilful juggler than as a painter of transcendent power. When he was drawn into the competition for the plans of the façade of San Lorenzo, at Florence, and Angelo overmastered him, the venerable Leonardo determined to seek a land where his talents could be more highly appreciated, and to leave the rich Roman field to Angelo and Raphael, and the younger artists. He had always been, in so far as relates to art, a prophet without honor in his own Florence; and at his advanced age he could hardly have ventured to rival the two great artists then in favor at Rome. Probably, if he had tried some worthy work in the Eternal City, he would have proved his equality with the two princes of art, and become a worthy member of an illustrious triumvirate, enriching Rome with the choicest of masterpieces. Whether the procrastinating, fastidious, and impractical Leonardo could have frescoed the Vatican halls as his rivals did, may be matter of doubt, but there is no reason to believe that under proper influences he could not have repeated and perhaps surpassed his Milanese triumphs.

## CHAPTER VII.

**The Call of France. — Pavian Festivities. — Farewell to Italy. — Leonardo in France. — His Death. — The Last Testament.**

LEONARDO had not long to wait before finding the noblest and most congenial patron. When Francis I. succeeded Louis XII. on the throne of France, he straightway led an army into Italy, defeated the Lombards in the tremendous battle of Marignano, and re-occupied Milan. The Pope hastened to make peace with the brilliant young sovereign, and yielded also Parma and Piacenza to him, by the treaty of Viterbo, in October, 1515. No sooner had Leonardo heard of these successes of the French than he hastened to Lombardy, and was received with great joy by Francis I., who restored to him the office of Painter to the King, and settled upon him an annual pension of seven hundred golden crowns.

The master owned an estate at Fiesole, near Florence, which was perhaps a part of the patrimony for which he had fought so long in the courts, since Ser Piero da Vinci had owned property at that place. In the winter of 1515–16, he wrote to his steward there the following letter, containing several ideas far in advance of the times:—

"The four last bottles were not up to my expectation, for which I am very sorry; the vines of Fiesole, being much improved in quality, ought to furnish first-rate wine for our Italy, as well as for Ser Ottaviano. You know, however, that I told you it would be necessary to manure the stony ground with lime mortar from destroyed houses or walls, and this dries the root; and the stem and leaves draw in from the air the matters necessary to the perfection of the grape. Besides, we have now a very bad habit of making wine in uncovered vessels, and so the essence escapes into the air during fermentation, and nothing remains but a tasteless liquor colored by the dregs and the pulp; moreover, they do not shift it as they ought from vessel to vessel, in consequence of which the wine becomes turbid and difficult of digestion. However, if you and others will profit by these reasonings, we shall drink good wine. May the Blessed Virgin save you."

At Pavia marvellous festivities and entertainments greeted the advent of the knightly young King, and it is supposed that at this time Leonardo devised the wonderful automaton of which Lomazzo speaks,— a lion filled with hidden machinery by means of which it walked up to the throne, and opening its breast, showed it filled with a great number of fleurs-de-lys, in compliment to the French sovereign. It was thus that the artist's philosophical studies enabled him to cater to the foibles of his times, and to mould his experiments to create diversions for the courtiers. At about the same time as the Pavian festivities, Leonardo accompanied the King to Bologna, where Francis held a conference with Leo X.; and here he who had been treated at Rome with scant honor, now appeared as the favorite of a mighty prince.

When Francis I. was about to return to his own country, after the brilliant Italian campaign, he desired to carry with him 'The Last Supper,' and finding this impossible, consoled himself by taking its artist instead. Neglected at Florence, chilled at Rome, and uneasy under the stern military government at Milan, Leonardo left Italy without grief, and sought a new and goodlier land. It must be confessed that he had but little of the *Italia* spirit, that dauntless and pathetic love of country which was the ruling thought of Julius II., of Angelo, of Guido, and in this latest century, of so many heroes who have held their lives as of light value when thus inspired.

In his journey to France the venerable master was attended by his devoted friends and pupils, Melzi and Salaï, and by his favorite servant Villanis, all of whom had also been with him during the Roman sojourn. King Francis gave them as residence the Chateau of Cloux-de-Murailles, just outside the walls of the royal castle of Amboise, a little estate which Charles VIII. had bought from the mayor of Tours in 1490. Cloux was a beautiful retreat, with forests and meadows, gardens and fish-ponds, and a great hall, which was arranged as a studio.

The Chateau of Cloux was so near to Amboise that its occupants could still mingle with the gaieties of the court, and enjoy the society of courtiers and diplomatists, as aforetime. He even set the fashions for the royal household, says Michelet, and the King and his dependants copied his costumes, and the cut of his beard and hair. In

1517, he directed the festivities when Lorenzo de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino, married a princess of the House of Bourbon.

After breakfast the venerable master used to take Salaï's arm, and walk to Amboise, looking like a white-haired Druid, and meeting with tokens of respect on all sides. His life here was peaceful and serene, and made a fitting close to so active and laborious a career.

Leonardo was placed at the head of all artistic undertakings in France, and was furnished with a pension, and horses to attend the royal court, whether at Blois, Paris, or Fontainebleau. French art, at this time, had not progressed beyond the illumination of manuscript, wherein, indeed, it had excelled for two centuries. But the two last kings, Louis XII. and Francis I., who had carried their arms far into Italy, were charmed by the grandeur of the art of that country, and earnestly desired to transplant it across the Alps. Francis probably thought that Leonardo would found an academy in France, as he had done in Milan, and educate a group of artists in a new Franco-Italian manner. But the master made no attempt to establish another Vincian academy, and had no French pupils or followers. It was reserved for three other Italians, Il Rasso, Primaticcio, and Niccolò dell' Abbate, to found a school for France, at Fontainebleau ; but theirs was the art of the decadence and the mannerists, and its extravagances and exaggerations corrupted the French school in its cradle.

Leonardo seemed to have been blighted the moment he passed the Alps, and to have lost all his former activity and ambition. Petted and rewarded by the King, surrounded by the most loving friends, and reverently looked up to by the far inferior artists of France, he had attained the summit of ambition, and no longer felt the keen incentive to labor, which formerly overcame his natural dilatoriness. He was enervated and rendered languid by the fatal luxuries which surrounded him, and ceased to be a creator of noble works of art or science. Perhaps his age had some effect in this direction, for there are but few men who can follow Angelo and Titian in carrying on mighty enterprises to the very close of a long life. No more great works issued from Leonardo's once busy brain and skilful hand, and he made only a few feeble plans, such as that of the canal of Romerentin, whither he went early in 1518. He also visited Blois, and made a short sojourn in Paris. The Abbé Fontani claims that he went to Rouen also,—but abbés claim a great many things.

At length Leonardo fell into a languor, and began to decline, slowly, yet all too surely. During the many months in which he was thus sinking away, Vasari says that he "wrought diligently to make himself acquainted with the Catholic ritual, and with the good and holy path of the Christian religion. He then confessed with great penitence and many tears; and, although he could not support himself on his feet, yet being sustained in the arms of his servants and friends, he devoutly received the Holy Sacrament while thus out of bed."

It has been inferred from certain expressions used by Vasari when writing of his last days, that Leonardo's scientific and philosophical studies and speculations had made him a rationalist, or had at least given him an indifference towards religion. In a passage in the first edition of Vasari (afterwards suppressed), it is said that, "by this means he conceived such heretical ideas that he did not belong to any religion, esteeming it better to be a philosopher than a Christian."

It does not yet clearly appear whether this withdrawn charge was well-founded or otherwise, although it is certain that Leonardo was always a free and daring investigator, in an age when faith meant contented blindness, and examination meant heresy. Indeed, it is more than likely that he would have been punished for sorcery or necromancy, if he had not always enjoyed the protection of great princes. Rio infers his orthodoxy from his last will and testament, in which "he commends his soul to our sovereign Lord and Master, God, to the glorious Virgin Mary, to our Lord, St. Michael, and to all the beatified saints and saintesses of Paradise;" but it is especially unwise to judge of a man's life and opinions by utterances made at the moments when he is in contemplation of death.

In some of Leonardo's writings, we find keen bits of satire directed apparently against the clergy, — "the numerous crowd that heap up great riches, paying for the same in invisible coin;" and "those who avoid hard work and poor living, that they may inhabit rich palatial edifices, clearly demonstrating that, by so doing, they exalt the glory of God." Two memoranda seem to refer to some persecutions which Leonardo suffered from the Church, which, he said, reprimanded him "for working at his art on feast-days, and investigating the works of God." Elsewhere he wrote this statement: "When I made the Lord God an infant, you imprisoned me; now, if I make Him grown-up, you would treat me worse."

There are no indications that Leonardo fell away from a life of purity and dignity, even in that age of libertinism, and under the influence of his own vivacity and enthusiasm. The question as to whether or no he was theoretically religious may not now be answered, and theories based on assumed probabilities are unsafe; yet he certainly led a higher life than most of the pontiffs and cardinals of his generation; and even when he painted undraped figures, he gave them modest attitudes and downcast eyes.

The will of Leonardo, made only nine days before his death, is a document full of interest, as showing a fervent desire that his funeral ceremonies should be attended with the high pomp of the Roman ritual, and also his kindly care for the friends and servants left behind:—

"The said testator desires to be buried in the Church of St. Florentin at Amboise, and that his body be carried there by the chaplains of that place. That his body be accompanied from the said place to the said Church of St. Florentin by the chapter of said church, and also by the rector and prior, or by the vicars and chaplains of the Church of St. Denis d'Amboise, as well as by the Minorite Friars of the said place. And that before his body be carried to the said church, the testator desires that there should be three high masses celebrated in the said Church of St. Florentin, with deacons and sub-deacons; and that, on the same day, there shall also be said thirty low masses of St. Gregory. In the said Church of St. Denis, a like service shall be celebrated, and also in the church of the said Minorite Friars.

"The aforesaid testator gives and concedes to Messire Francesco da Melzi, gentleman, of Milan, in gratitude for the services that he has rendered him in times past, all and every one of the books which the said testator now possesses, and other instruments and drawings concerning his art and the profession of painter.

"The testator gives and concedes forever and perpetually to Battista da Villanis, his servant, the half of a garden that he has outside of the walls of Milan; and the other half of his garden to Salaï, his servant, in which garden the said Salaï has built and constructed a house which shall be and shall remain forever the property of the said Salaï, and of his heirs and successors; and this in recompense of the good and kind service that the aforesaid Salaï and Villanis have rendered him hitherto. The said testator gives to his maid-servant, Maturina, a garment of good black cloth trimmed with fur, a hood of cloth and ten ducats paid at one time; and this also in recompense of the good services of the said Maturina up to this day.

"He wishes that at his obsequies there shall be sixty torches borne by sixty poor men, who shall be paid for carrying them according to the discretion of the said Melzi, which torches shall be divided among the four churches above mentioned. The said testator gives to each one of the said churches ten pounds of wax in large candles, which shall be sent to the said churches to be made use of on the day in which the services above named shall be celebrated. Item;

that alms shall be given to the poor of the Hospital of God, and to the poor of St. Lazarus, at Amboise; and that, for this purpose, there shall be given and paid to the treasuries of each brotherhood the sum of seventy sous tournais."

Furthermore, he bequeathed to Melzi all his garments and the arrears of the pension due him from Francis; to Villanis his rights in the water of the canal at Milan, and also all his furniture and utensils at Cloux; and to his brothers, Giuliano da Vinci and the others, his estate at Fiesole, and four hundred golden crowns deposited at Florence.

The Da Vinci family is kept up in the descendants of his brother Domenico, the latest of whom, Paolo da Vinci, was born in 1871. Pierino da Vinci, Leonardo's nephew, attained a fair rank as an artist; and two others who bore the name became famous as musicians.

Vasari goes on to say: "The king, who was accustomed frequently and affectionately to visit him, came immediately afterwards to his room, and he causing himself out of reverence to be raised up, sat in his bed, describing his malady and its different circumstances, lamenting besides that he had offended God and man, not having worked in art as he ought to have done. He was then seized with violent paroxysm, the forerunner of death, when the King, rising and supporting his head to give him such assistance and do him such favor as he could, the spirit of Leonardo, which was most divine, conscious that it could attain to no greater honor, breathed its last in the arms of the King."

Many subsequent writers have discredited Vasari's story that Leonardo died in the arms of the King, and have tried to prove that Francis I. was not at Amboise at the time. But Vasari received his information from Melzi, who was with the master until the last, and it is difficult to see how he could have erred in this matter. Arséne Houssaye has discussed the question at great length, reviewing all the objections, and professing his faith in the substantial truth of the old chronicler's account, although for many years he had been among the doubters. M. Aimè Champollion, M. Léon de Laborde, and other modern French critics support the same view; and so do Félibien, De Piles, De Chambray, and other ancient writers.

Dufresne and several other writers have favored a hypothesis that the master died at Fontainebleau, but that was only a small hunting-lodge at the time, rarely visited by the King. Ten or twelve years later a colony of artists and architects went there, and began the erection of the splendid palace which still adorns those vast forests. Among these was a Flemish painter named Leonardi, whose name probably gave rise to this erroneous theory. Furthermore, it could not have been possible for Leonardo to have gone to Fontainebleau in the nine days which elapsed between making his will, at Amboise, and his death.

The body of the great master was buried in the Church of St. Florentin, but it is not known that a monument was erected over it. The wars which soon afterwards devastated France, in the name of religion, did not spare the Amboise shrines; and no tomb of note was left in St. Florentin. In 1808, the church was utterly demolished by the sacrilegious Senator Ducos, when even the grave-stones were sold, and the leaden coffins were melted down. In the last century, Pagavi made a pilgrimage to Amboise, in search of Leonardo's tomb, but could find no trace of it; and, in 1863, Arséne Houssaye went thither, attended by several high officials, bent on discovering the grave. The site of the church was occupied by a grove, wherein an ancient gardener had buried the bones of the unearthed skeletons, with which the children of Amboise had been playing nine-pins. Houssaye's workmen dug in three places on the site, finding several tombs, bits of statuary and tablets, parts of the pavement of the church, and vaults reached by subterranean stone stairways. At last, in the choir, where tradition said that Leonardo was buried, they found a skeleton, with the skull resting on the hand, as if musing, and with fragments of white hair, sandals, and brown cloth, coins of mediæval Italy and of Francis I., and a vase filled with perfumed charcoal. Near by were fragments of slabs, two of which were marked,

LEO INC EO DUS VINC.

The skeleton measured five feet and eight inches, the recorded height of Leonardo, and the skull, pronounced by doctors as that of a septuagenarian, corresponded in shape with the portrait of the artist. It was well-balanced and powerful, with a broad, high, and projecting brow. M. Houssaye submits the evidence thus obtained, and leaves his readers to draw their own inferences. His task was well and faithfully done, in the presence of artists, antiquaries, prelates, and other men of high qualifications; and the general impression among these was that the remains of Leonardo had at last been restored to honor.

In 1873, Italy raised a noble monument to Leonardo, near the entrance of the Victor-Emanuel Arcades, at Milan. The statue of the venerable master stands on a lofty pedestal, with his arms on his breast, and his head bowed in deep reflection. Below are four large bas-reliefs, representing scenes in his life.

Projecting sub-pedestals sustain noble and lifelike statues of the master's chief disciples, Cesare da Sesto, Marco d'Oggione, Giovanni Beltraffio, and Andrea Solario; and at the base of the pedestal are four inscriptions, one of which dedicates the monument "To the Renewer of the Arts and Sciences." During the same year a loan collection of the works of Leonardo's school was held at Milan, and about three hundred pictures were placed on exhibition.

In Melzi's letter, apprising the master's brothers of his decease, he says: "He was to me the best of fathers, and it is impossible for me to express the grief that his death has caused me. Until the day when my body is laid under the ground, I shall experience perpetual sorrow, and not without reason, for he daily showed me the most devoted and warmest affection. His loss is a grief to every one, for it is not in the power of nature to reproduce another such a man. May the Almighty accord him everlasting rest."

Leonardo's little household was speedily broken up. Melzi remained in France for some time, as a pensioner of the King, and Villanis also staid, in Melzi's service. Salaï returned to Italy, and won great success by painting from the unfinished designs, having acquired the master's style so nearly that the best critics are unable to say whether certain pictures are by him or Leonardo.

The marvellous scene at Leonardo's death-bed has been portrayed by Vien, Fleury, Gigoux, and Angelica Kauffman; while Cornelius, in the Loggie frescos at Munich, illustrated his birth, his manner of painting portraits, and his death in the arms of Francis.

Strozzi, the Florentine poet, said of our Leonardo:

"He alone
Vanquished all others; Phidias he surpassed,
Surpassed Apelles, and the conquering troop
Of their proud followers."

# CHAPTER VIII.

## Leonardo as a Philosopher and a Writer.

HUMBOLDT says: "He was the greatest physical philosopher of the fifteenth century. . . . If the views of Leonardo da Vinci upon physical subjects had not remained buried in his MSS., the field of observation offered by the New World would have been explored in many of its branches of science before the grand epoch of Galileo, Pascal, and Huygens."

He sympathized profoundly with the revival of ancient learning in Italy, and in an epitaph which was prepared for him, under his own supervision, he called himself, "The admirer of the ancients and their grateful disciple. One thing is lacking to me: their science of proportion. I have done what I could; may posterity pardon me." He devoted the most earnest study to Vitruvius, whose book on architecture had recently been translated by Fra Paciolo; since the great question of the day in Milan was one relating to architecture, when the Cathedral, there approaching completion, was about to be crowned with a cupola. The main contest arose over the question whether the cupola should be of the Gothic or Renaissance type, and was stormily debated by the Italian architects, and by others whom Sforza summoned from Germany.

After Leonardo's death, his vast collections of manuscripts and notes were bequeathed to Francesco Melzi, who retained them with religious care, although no attempt was made to arrange these confused treasures of scientific facts, hints of discoveries, germ-thoughts, and careless notes. There were also many anatomical drawings, by which, says Vasari, Melzi "set great store, together with the portrait of Leonardo of blessed memory." Some of the papers passed out of Melzi's hands; and his son allowed the remainder to be scattered in all directions. Thirteen volumes of them were stolen from a later descendant, and he was not aware of their loss; and when Mazenta recovered them and returned them to him, Melzi "wondered that he should have taken so much trouble in the matter, and told him to keep them, adding that there were many more which had lain for years in the garrets of the Villa Melzi."

The fragmentary character of these papers is forecast and explained by Leonardo himself, in the note prefixed to one of the MSS.: "Begun at Florence, in the house of Pietro di Braccio Martelli, on the 22d of March, 1508; and this may be a collection without order, extracted from many papers which I have copied, hoping hereafter to arrange them in their proper order, according to the subjects of which they treat. I expect that before concluding this task, I shall have to repeat the same thing more than once; wherefore, reader, do not blame me, seeing that the things are many, and I cannot keep them in my memory and say, 'This I will not write because I have already written it.'"

Among these chaotic papers are the hints of many ideas which subsequent discoverers realized, though the too versatile Italian did not care to develop them. There are also false and inaccurate deductions, sometimes corrected by the writer himself in later treatises; and quests after fallacies, necromancy, perpetual motion, and the like.

The *Codice Atlantico* is a collection of four hundred of Leonardo's drawings and manuscripts gathered together by the Cavaliere Leoni, and afterwards owned by Count Arconauti. Refusing an offer of 3000 doubloons for it from James I. of England, the Count presented the *Codice* to the Ambrosian Library at Milan, where it still remains. When Napoleon conquered Italy he carried this collection and Petrarch's copy of Virgil to his palace himself, allowing no one to touch them, and saying with great delight: "These are my own." After the final humiliation of France, the Atlantic Codex was brought back from Paris to Milan. Another great volume remains in the National Library at Paris, containing 392 pages, and bearing the following title in gold letters: "Designs of Machines for the Secret Arts and Other Things of Leonardo da Vinci; Gathered by Pompeo Leoni." Another volume, composed of notes on the mathematics and physics, is now in the Arundel MSS., at the British Museum. Fourteen volumes still remain in Paris, and have never yet been properly examined. At Holkham there is a MS. of the *Libro Originale di Natura.*

Another Milanese artist had some of Leonardo's writings on art, which he showed to Vasari, announcing his intention of publishing them at Rome. These were probably the same as the *Trattato della Pittura*, which Du Fresne published in Paris, in 1651, in the Italian language, with illustrations by Poussin and Alberti. A French translation appeared in the same year, and an English edition followed, since which it has been published in most of the languages of Europe. Schorn said that the *Trattato* is still "one of the best guides and counsellors of the painter;" Algarotti declared that he should not desire any better elementary work on the art of painting; and it is indeed an encyclopædia of art, dry, clear, and concise, but with an unfortunate lack of coherence between its sections. None of the manuscripts from which it has been edited are in the master's handwriting, whence it is inferred that it was a compilation of his sayings and notes, prepared by some disciple or friend. Rubens wrote a commentary on this treatise; and Annibale Caracci used to say that if during his youth he had read the golden book of Leonardo's precepts, he would have been spared twenty years of useless labor.

*The Trattato del Moto e Misura dell' Acqua* ("Treatise on the Motion and Power of Water,") is another of these manuscripts which has been printed; and in 1872 a folio volume was published at Milan, containing many of the writings from the Atlantic Codex. In 1797, Venturi wrote a treatise on the physico-mathematical works of Leonardo, revealing his vast knowledge on these topics, yet scarcely more than hinting at the comprehensiveness of his studies therein.

Leonardo declared that all sciences, except theology, metaphysics, and law, were related to art; and his studies ranged diligently over this wide expanse of knowledge. Most scholars, in those days, were paying close heed to theology and metaphysics, but the master ignored these utterly, in favor of the natural sciences. Albertus Magnus was the only schoolman whom he studied, and it is to be remembered that Albertus was called a magician, in his day, because of his knowledge of chemistry and physics. Gioberti says that science is a straight line, and art is a curved line, yet Leonardo tried to walk in both ways at the same time, though much to the damage of his paintings, since he so often used fugitive and experimental colors. Indeed, it seems certain that his bias was towards science, rather than art.

Brown says that Leonardo first introduced the art of engraving on wood and copper; and the Marquis d'Adda points out an engraving of Monna Lisa as certainly by his hand. Brown also believes that the master engraved the portraits of the most eminent literary men at Lodovico's court, prefaced to their works; the frontispiece of Gaforio's treatise on music; a rude print of 'The Last Supper'; and other pictures.

He indulged freely in astronomical speculations, wondering at the appearance of "the new moon with the old moon in her arms;" falsely referring the twinkling of the stars to our own eyesight; and dogmatically writing that "the moon must have a spring and summer every month, with greater variations of temperature and colder equinoxes than we have."

Geology was then an unknown science, and fossils were regarded as caprices of nature, the stars, or the devil. But Leonardo frequently observed these things, especially during his journeys over the Alps and Apennines, and rejected the crude ideas then prevalent, considering the fossil shells and fishes as remnants of pre-historic life, imbedded in mud which had hardened into stone.

Leonardo was a close and admiring student of botany, and Uzielli demonstrated, in the "New Journal of Italian Botany" for 1869, that he first laid down the fundamental laws regulating the distribution of leaves. The sixth book of the *Pittura* contains many notes on leaves and boughs, bark and wood; and the Atlantic Codex, among many other minutely accurate records of observation, speaks of the circles of wood denoting the age of a tree, while their density depends on the dryness or wetness of their natal seasons, and states that the centre of a tree is nearer the southern bark than the northern. There is also a recipe for coloring leaves and applying them so as to form what is now called nature-painting.

In chemistry he made many researches, improving furnaces and stills, studying the properties of flame and smoke, inventing poisonous vapors to be used in war, purifying oils, distilling perfumes, and compounding colors and varnishes, acids for engraving, and mixtures for fire-works. In the same connection he investigated the processes of metallurgy, and wrote copiously on the founder's art.

Leonardo's observations in hydrostatics were fruitful in benefits to Northern Italy, and connected his infinite speculations with the supply of the wants of man. He studied nature earnestly, and embodied the results thereof in a treatise on fluids. He inquired into capillary attraction, the properties of siphons, and the phenomena attending the action of heat on water; and argued that rain-drops grew larger as they approached the earth. He planned numerous canals; invented a new form of lock-gates; economized the services of excavators; and devised the *colmata* system of drainage.

Leonardo's studies in optics were very careful and minute, and resulted in the discovery of new effects with the camera-obscura, and original ideas recorded in many of his MSS. He understood the offices of the crystalline lens, the iris, and the pupil; tried to measure the intensity of light; experimented with concave and convex mirrors; and foreshadowed the telescope and the theory of diffraction of light. In perspective, he also made numerous investigations, and formulated several correct rules, which he signed, "Leonardo Vincio, the disciple of Practice." Many experiments on the properties of heat are detailed in the MSS.

and show that he understood radiation and the dilatation of heated bodies, and suspected the equivalent character of heat and motion. He also gave some attention to magnetism, and noted certain or its phenomena.

In mechanical science he made yet deeper studies, saying that — "No insensible thing can move of itself; its motion must be caused by others," — and the moving power is force, which he thus defines: "Force is a power spiritual, incorporeal, and impalpable, which occurs for a short period in bodies which, from accidental violence, are out of their natural repose. I call it spiritual, because in it there is an invisible life; and incorporeal and impalpable, because the body in which it originates increases neither in form nor in weight." Further on, he seems to have had intuitions of the theory of gravitation, the grades of velocity and their causes, compound motion, varying attraction, percussion, and atmospheric resistance. The experiments which he used in these researches were curious and complex, and are recorded carefully in the MSS.

It is probable that he wrote a treatise on human anatomy; and his drawings on this theme still adorn the Windsor collection. Vasari speaks also of his work on the anatomy of the horse, but this has utterly disappeared.

Vasari says that Leonardo devised a method of perforating mountains, so that they could thus be easily passed from one plain to another; and on the other hand, he wasted not a little time "designing a series of cords, curiously intertwined, but of which any separate strand may be distinguished from one end to the other, the whole forming a complete circle."

It was an age of ever new and delightful surprises to geographers, with Vasco de Gama, Columbus, Magellan, and Cabot on the open seas; and Leonardo, the friend of Amerigo Vespucci, was keenly alive to the importance of their discoveries. In the Atlantic Codex he drew maps of the districts where his canals were made, with others of Europe, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa; and quoted St. Augustine's words, in the *De Civitate Dei*, against the possibility of the antipodes, as if in raillery at Mother Church. He also made a note to "write to Bartolommeo, the Turk, about the ebb and flow of the Pontic Sea, and to get information as to whether a similar phenomenon exists in the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea."

It was natural that he who was at once a scientist and a skilful musician should devote much time to the study of acoustics. He analyzed the phenomena of echo; attempted to measure the time which sound took to pass over certain distances; and argued naively as to whether the sound is in the hammer or the anvil. He wrote many passages on these and cognate questions, and often seemed to be on the very verge of some great discovery, — which, however, he never quite attained.

Captain Angelucci, a modern Italian writer, has described Leonardo's inventions in fire-arms, and maintains that he was among the first inventors of siege-artillery, wall-pieces, and mortars, for whose founding and boring he laid down many rules. He also increased the powers of the not yet obsolete catapult, ballista, ram, and cross-bow. Among his plans are found weapons like the Gatling gun, and cannons with bent barrels, which, if successful, could have shot around corners. He advocated the use of conical shot, and the augmentation of the charges of powder, which, he argued, must be increased as well in the size of its grains, else a quantity of unburnt powder would leave the gun.

It is almost impossible to enumerate all the inventions of this universal genius. Among them we may speak of a proportional compass, a lathe for turning ovals, an hygrometer; an ingenious surgical probe, a universal joint, dredging-machines, wheelbarrows, diving suits, a porphyry color-grinder, boats moved by paddle-wheels, a roasting jack worked by hot air, a three-legged sketching-stool which folded up, a revolving cawl for chimneys, ribbon-looms, coining-presses, saws for stone, silk spindles and throwers, wire-drawing and file-cutting and plate-rolling machines, and many other inventions, in widely different fields.

He also devoted much time to devices by which men might walk on the sea, with broad wooden discs on their feet. Another study which he found most fascinating was aërostation, and he contrived various machines to enable men to fly through the air. He carefully watched the flight of birds, to see if he could not find a motive and directing power analogous in the human body. "As to writing so detailedly about the kite," he said, "it seems that it is my destiny ; for among the earliest recollections of my infancy it appears to me that when I was in the cradle a kite came to me, and, opening my mouth with his tail, struck me several times with it on the inside of the lips." He then narrates his plan for a parachute, as follows: "If a man have a canopy with the orifices filled up, twelve *braccia* broad and of the same height, he may throw himself from any great height without personal danger." Two centuries later, this device was successfully used.

He also made a great number of experiments in clocks, and came near discovering the principle of the pendulum. The telescope was another object of his quest, and he almost forestalled Galileo therein. Furthermore, he wrote a whole volume on various kinds of mills, with their different appliances and motive powers, and illustrated it with many drawings.

Leonardo's handwriting was of the most peculiar character, running backwards from right to left, so that it must be read by means of a mirror. Paciolo asserts that the master was left-handed, and he probably devised and retained this method of writing because it was easiest, although he could, on occasion, write in the ordinary manner. Some authors suppose that he used this strange chirography in order to baffle prying eyes, and keep his notes and discoveries from the knowledge of unauthorized persons. But the generous and prodigal character of the master renders this last an unsatisfactory theory. The task of deciphering his MSS. is rendered still more difficult by numerous arbitrary abbreviations, omissions, and irregularities in orthography and grammar. He never used the name *Leonardo da Vinci*, but always subscribed himself Leonardo Vincio, or Leonardus Vincius.

Leonardo, like Giotto and Orcagna, was an enthusiastic student of Dante, and derived high inspiration from the melodious stanzas of the *Divina Commedia.* His own achievements as a poet and *improvvisatore* are all lost, except one quite philosophical sonnet: —

"If what thou wouldst thou canst not, then content thee
To will as thou mayst act. It is but folly
To will what cannot be : soon learns the wise
To wrest his will from bootless wishes free.

"Our bliss and woe depend alike on knowledge
Of what we should do, and, that known, to do it.

But he alone shall compass this, who never
Doth warp his will when right before him stands.

"All he can do, man may not safely will.
Oft seemeth sweet what soon to bitter turns.
How have I wept of some fond wish possessed!

"Thou, therefore, reader of these lines, wouldst thou
Count with the good, and to the good be dear?
Will only to be potent for the right."

He also wrote several fables, one of which runs thus: — "A razor, having come out of the sheath in which it was usually concealed, and placed itself in the sunlight, saw how brightly the sun was reflected from its surface. Mightily pleased thereat, it began to reason with itself after this fashion: 'Shall I now go back to the shop which I have just quitted? Certainly it cannot be pleasing to the gods that such dazzling beauty should be linked to such baseness of spirit. What a madness it could be that should lead me to shave the soaped beards of country bumpkins! Is this a form fitted to such base mechanical uses? Assuredly not; I shall withdraw myself into some secluded spot, and in calm repose pass away my life.' Having therefore concealed himself for some months, on leaving his sheath one day and returning to the open air, he found himself looking just like a rusty saw, and totally unable to reflect the glorious sun from his tarnished surface. He lamented in vain this irreparable loss, and said to himself: 'How much better had I kept up the lost keenness of my edge, by practising with my friend the barber. What has become of my once brilliant surface? This abominable rust has eaten it all up.' If genius chooses to indulge in sloth, it must not expect to preserve the keen edge which the rust of ignorance will soon destroy."

Three sentences written in his later years are full of profound wisdom: "When I thought I was learning to live, I was but learning to die. . . A life well spent is long. . . As a day well spent gives a joyful sleep, so does life well employed give a joyful death."

The following aphorisms and suggestions, extending to the end of this chapter, have been selected from Leonardo's writings: —

"Theory is the general, practice the soldiers.

"Mechanics is the paradise of the mathematical sciences, because therein one attains their fruit.

"Whoever flatters himself that he can retain in his memory all the effects of nature is deceived, for our memories are not so capacious; therefore consult nature for everything.

"A painter should be universal. He must study all he sees; that is to say, consider it attentively, and by serious reflection seek to find the cause of that which he sees; but he should only take that which is the best and most perfect for his work. Thus, as a mirror reflects all objects with their peculiar colors and characters, *the imagination of a painter accustomed to reflect* will represent to him without difficulty all that is most beautiful in nature.

"Experience never deceives; only man's judgment deceives when promising effects which are not supported by experiments.

"Speculators! do not trust authors who wish to interpret between nature and man through their own imaginations, but trust only those who have exercised their understanding upon the results of their own experiments.

"Many will think themselves warranted in blaming me, alleging that my proofs are contrary to the authority of certain men whom they hold in high reverence, . . . not considering that my facts are obtained by simple pure experiment, which is our real mistress.

"Spirit has no voice, for where there is voice there is body, and where there is body there is occupation of place. There can be no voice where there is no movement and percussion of air, no percussion of air without some instrument, no instrument incorporeal.

"When all seems easy, it is an unerring sign that the workman has but scant ability, and that the task is above his comprehension.

"The criticism of enemies is more valuable than the praises of friends, because friends desire only to gild our defects.

"Those who give themselves to ready and rapid practice before they have learned the theory, resemble sailors who go to sea in a vessel without rudder or compass.

"A painter who servilely abandons himself to the manner of another painter, shuts the window on truth, since he ought not to augment the works of men, but those of nature.

"In the silence of the night, recall the ideas of the things which you have studied. Design in your spirit the contours and outlines of the figures that you have seen during the day. Where the spirit does not work with the hands, there is no artist.

"Do not allege as an excuse your poverty, which does not permit you to study and become skilful; the study of art serves for nourishment to the body as well as the soul.

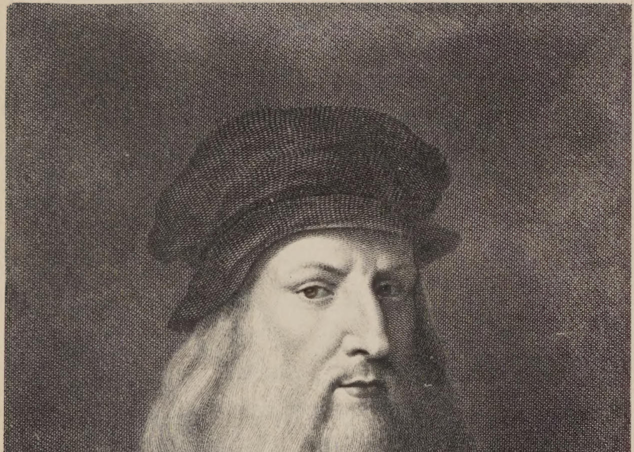
"Contrive that your figures receive a broad light from above, particularly in portraits, because we see people in the streets receive all the light from above. It is curious to observe, that there is not a face ever so familiar but would be recognized with difficulty were it lighted from beneath.

"Do not make muscles with hard lines, but let the soft light glide upon them, and blend into delightful shadows; this gives grace and beauty to the face.

"Black is the most beautiful in the darks, white in the strongest light, blue and green in the half-tints, yellow and red in the principal light, gold in the reflexes, and lake in the half-tints.

"For harmony of colors contrast blue with pale yellow or white, and green near red. A pale yellow will cause red to appear more beautiful than if opposed to purple.

"Take care that the shadows and lights be united, or lost in each other, without any hard strokes or lines,— as smoke loses itself in air."



# CHAPTER IX.

The *Academia Leonardi Vinci* and the Master's Heritage to Italian Art.

No record of Leonardo's life would be complete without an allusion to the school of art which he founded, and which was one of the chief glories of Lombardy at the beginning of the Renaissance. The vitality of this school was manifested by its splendid development in the midst of a half-century of terrible civil wars; and its high artistic and humanistic excellence is still illustrated by hundreds of noble pictures. It has been said that the reason why Leonardo left so few paintings was that he spent the best part of his life in organizing and regulating the work of his successors, and in ascertaining sure methods for their guidance. Of late years more attention than formerly has been given to the achievements of these Lombard artists, and several masters have been placed high in the honor of the world. Names long since almost forgotten have been invested with perennial interest, and tardy but hearty praise has at last been awarded to the faithful and affectionate disciples of the great Leonardo.

Soon after his arrival at Milan, the master founded the *Academia Leonardi Vinci*, to which he devoted a large proportion of his time for many years. His numerous treatises were doubtless prepared as rough notes of his lectures before the Academy, and reveal a clear and practical turn of mind, and noble advice conveyed in the simplest terms. No master ever had more devoted followers, or disciples who adhered so long and so carefully to his tenets; and it would be difficult to find a school with so many famous names. Among these were Luini, Solario, Marco d'Oggione, Cesare da Sesto, Beltraffio, Lomazzo, and many others of renown. Lanzi says that this was the first academy of design in Italy, and gave the law to others elsewhere. For many years after the master departed, his school continued to flourish, maintaining the principles of the founder, and forming many excellent artists. These lights of the Lombard school, following their patriarch's advice and axioms, became exceedingly accurate in antiquity and costumes, and excelled in a certain fine relief of portrayed faces, heeding Leonardo's maxim to make as cautious a use of light as of a gem, reserving it always for the best place. They also obeyed his canons on perspective, to which Benvenuto Cellini acknowledged his indebtedness; and on chiaroscuro, wherein Mengs declared that no one could surpass Vinci's grand effects.

Lodovico frequently proposed problems to his artist to solve, and one day he demanded to know which was the nobler art, painting or sculpture. Lomazzo says that the master wrote a treatise on this theme, concluding that the more the exercise of an art wearies the body the less noble it is. The Regent was indeed the chief patron of the Academy, since he had for many years advocated the establishment of such an institution, in the interests of his brilliant court. Leonardo had several pupils in Milan, as we find from his manuscripts, and received from each of them the sum of one dollar a month. He led them to study first causes and the simplest methods, praising Giotto and Masaccio as students of nature, "who is the mistress of us all."

Andrea Solario was one of the foremost of these disciples, and his pictures are oftentimes confounded with those of his master. He belonged to the family which for so many decades superintended the works at Milan Cathedral; and was afterwards summoned to France, as the worthiest representative of his school of art. Here he executed his greatest works in the Castle of Gaillon, for Cardinal d'Amboise, — noble mural paintings which were afterwards destroyed by revolutionary fanatics. But the few easel-pictures which remain to our day, show that the influence of Leonardo was paramount over him, in its best phases of harmony and suavity.

Cesare da Sesto was a pupil of Leonardo at Milan, and went to Rome at the same time as his teacher. Lomazzo called him the happiest imitator of the master, and Lanzi reported that he approached nearest to his style. Many a noble saint and fair Madonna did Cesare paint for the Lombard churches, in the tender harmony and beautiful coloring of the Vincian manner. He imitated his master in making prolonged and most minute preliminary studies, and advanced more nearly to his grand model than any other of his fellow-disciples could succeed in doing. But the full measure of success was never reached, since Cesare in later years became unfaithful to his first devotion, and adopted the manner of the Roman school.

Beltraffio was a Milanese gentleman, who took lessons in painting from Leonardo, in order to have an amusement for his leisure hours. It is indeed a pity that the master should have wasted so much of his precious time on mere dilettantes, like Beltraffio and Melzi, for whom art was but an incidental diversion. But he of whom we now speak was more fruitful than his aristocratic comrade, and for some years directed the Academy during Leonardo's absence. In the course of his short life he executed a few devotional pictures which still exist, and are marked by a strong portrait-character.

Marco d'Oggione was one of the best disciples of the Academy, and achieved many notable works, full of expression and masterly in composition. He it was who made the famous copy of 'The Last Supper,' now in London, and the copy which is in the Brera, at Milan. But when his master had gone away, Marco showed that he could not continue unguided in the path of excellence, and his later works bear many marks of inferiority.

Francesco Melzi was a Milanese of the noble house of Melzi (of which the Duke of Melzi is the present head), who executed pictures that were frequently mistaken for those of his master, so nearly did he approach the manner of Leonardo. Unfortunately for himself and for Lombardy, Melzi was rich, and therefore bestowed but little attention on painting, and finished but few pictures. He was one of Leonardo's warmest and nearest friends, and furnished Vasari and Lomazzo with notices of his life.

Salaï stood in a humbler relation, but his name takes precedence of Melzi's, because of his more numerous and more excellent works. He too was beloved by the master, and became the object of his most solicitous and tender care.

Bernardino Luini, the poet-painter, was the chief heir of Leonardo's inspiration, and yet it does not appear whether he was ever his pupil or not, although he certainly frequented the Academy. He was so imbued with the master's spirit, and so skilful in art, that his works have often been mistaken for those of Leonardo. One of the most important of these was the 'Christ Disputing with the Doctors,' a noble work in the British

National Gallery, which was long attributed to the elder master. Luini came from the beautiful lake-country of Northern Italy, his birthplace having been the hamlet of Luini, on Lake Maggiore; and adorned the Lombard cities with many of the most exquisite works of art, natural and unstudied, and replete with tranquil faith and calm dignity. Lanzi maintains that Luini's fame is due to his mastery of the Academy precepts, and "to his own genius, vast in its kind, and equalled by very few. I say in its kind, for I allude to all that is sweet, beautiful, pious, and sensitive in the art." Another noble painter of Northern Italy was Bonvicino of Brescia, whom his contemporaries called *Il Moretto;* and the influence of the school of Milan is clearly traceable in his calm and saintly pictures, scores of which are still preserved in the churches of Upper Italy.

Two other famous artists who owed much to the precepts and principles of Leonardo, were Il Soddoma and Gaudenzio Ferrari, masters whose names now stand high in the temple of fame. Ferrari was a pupil of the Vincian Academy, and afterwards became the disciple of Luini and the master of Lomazzo.

There are numerous pictures of the Madonna, which have been designed or retouched by Leonardo, or executed so entirely under his influence that critics and connoisseurs differ widely as to whether they should be attributed to him, or to Luini, Salaino, or Solario. Among these are the pictures at Madrid and in the Esterhazy Gallery, which Viardot defends against the claims advanced on behalf of Luini, by Passavant and Fumagalli; one in the Brussels Museum, formerly belonging to the King of France, and presented by the Republic to Brussels, in the year XI; Lord Ashburton's Madonna, brought by Gen. Sebastiani from the Escurial priory, and attributed by Waagen to Luini; that in the Villa Albani, at Rome, praised by Mengs and Lanzi, but depreciated by Passavant; that sold in the Pourtalés Gallery, formerly belonging to the Spanish royal family; the Virgin holding a flower, with Lake Como in the background, now at Alton Towers, and attested by Passavant; the Solario Madonna, in the Louvre, whose design, in Leonardo's red-chalk drawing, is still preserved at the Ambrosian Library; the picture formerly owned by the Arch bishop of Milan, and now in the Brera Gallery.

which Passavant refers to Solario; another in a private collection at Milan, spoken of by Kugler and Clément; 'The Virgin with the Scales,' at the Louvre, which Passavant and Waagen attribute to other artists, and less skeptical critics think was done by Leonardo when depressed; the 'Virgin of Pommersfeld,' owned by Count Schönborn, and attributed to Solario; and many others, with more or less claims to consideration.

The beautiful head of Christ in the Brera Gallery is another of the pictures which is variously attributed, as are several other works of a similar character. Although Passavant maintains that Leonardo's pupils executed all these part-length figures of the Saviour, d'Adda says that "Never has sentiment inspired by dignity and truth of religion been carried farther than in the head of Christ of the Brera."

There are as many as nine pictures of Herodias (or Salome) attributed to Leonardo, but none of these is above grave suspicion. Even the beautiful one in the Uffizi Gallery has been referred to Luini by all modern critics.

The most important collections of Leonardo's drawings are in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan;

the Uffizi, at Florence; the Academy, at Venice; the Albertina, at Vienna; the Louvre, the British Museum, Windsor Castle, Chatsworth, Christ Church College, and the collections of the Earl of Warwick and Mr. Malcolm of Poltalloch.

Leonardo's technical usages are minutely described in Eastlake's "Materials for a History of Oil Painting," (Vol. II., pp. 86–124.) His favorite varnish was distilled nut-oil, thickened in the sun; and he feared the yellowing of the oil so greatly that he gave pictures a purplish or violet tinge to counteract it. He also made some use of spike oil, distilled from lavender. His carnations were the color of wine-lees; and he used opisso for a red. He stuccoed the backs of the wooden panels on which he painted, in order to protect them against the attacks of worms.

In his pictures he strove to attain sculpturesque effects, with a definite rounding and projection to the figures. He said that "The first object of a painter is to make a simple flat surface appear like a relief, and some of its parts detached from the ground. He who excels in this deserves the greatest praise. This perfection depends upon the correct distribution of lights and shades, called chiaroscuro." In order to attain this requisite he finished backgrounds and draperies first, and then devoted his utmost skill to a microscopic treatment of the flesh, giving its lucidity and moisture, and the finest anatomical details.

Vasari adds:—

"It is worthy of admiration that this great genius, desiring to give the utmost possible relief to the works painted by him, labored constantly, not content with his darkest shadows, to discover the ground tone of others still darker; thus he sought a black that should produce a deeper shadow, and be yet darker than all other known blacks, to the end that the lights might by these means be rendered still more lucid, until he finally produced that totally dark shade, in which there is absolutely no light left."

In the words of the Abbé Lanzi:—

"In my opinion Leonardo succeeded in uniting minuteness and sublimity, these two opposite qualities, before any other artist. In subjects which he undertook fully to complete he was not satisfied with only perfecting the heads, counterfeiting the shining of the eyes, the pores of the skin, the roots of the hair, and even the beating of the arteries ; he likewise portrayed each separate garment and every accessory with minuteness. Thus, in his landscapes, also, there was not a single herb or leaf of a tree, which he had not taken like a portrait, from the select face of nature; and to his very leaves he gave a peculiar air, and fold, and position, best adapted to represent them rustling in the wind. . . . The characteristic of this incomparable artist consists in a refinement of taste, of which no equal example, preceding or following him, is to be found."

Arséne Houssaye says that "what makes Leonardo great among us, is that he formed the beautiful without copying the antique. . . . If ever a work altogether divine was shown on earth, it is a figure painted by Leonardo."

Rio thus closes the record:—

"Leonardo da Vinci is the figure, if not the most interesting and the most pure, certainly the most grandiose that the history of art presents, not excepting Michael Angelo himself."

# A LIST OF THE CHIEF PICTURES ATTRIBUTED TO

# LEONARDO DA VINCI,

## AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

**** Very many of these are held by able critics to be by Leonardo's disciples, while a majority of art-writers attribute them to the master himself. A large number of still more doubtful pictures have been omitted*

### ITALY.

FLORENCE. — *Uffizi Gallery,* — Medusa's Head; Portrait of Leonardo da Vinci; The Adoration of the Magi; A Young Man; Ginevra Benci. *Pitti Palace,* — La Monaca. *Academy of Fine Arts,* — An Angel, in Verocchio's 'Baptism of Christ.'

MILAN. — *Brera Gallery,* — Head of Christ. *Melzi Palace,* — Two Angels. *Ambrosiana Library,* — Isabella of Arragon; Gian Galeazzo Sforza. *Litta Palace,* — Madonna. *Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie,* — The Last Supper.

ROME. — *Convent of Sant' Onofrio,* — Madonna. *Albani Palace,* — Madonna.

GENOA. — *Brignole-Sale Palace,* — St. John the Baptist. *Royal Palace,* — A Portrait.

NAPLES. — *Fondi Palace,* — Mater Dolorosa.

Lucca. — *Casa Buonvisi,* — Madonna.

Venice. — *Academy,* — Drawings. *Correr Museum,* — Cæsar Borgia.

Parma. — *Civic Gallery,* — A Head.

Vaprio. — The Madonna, in fresco.

## FRANCE.

Paris. — *The Louvre,* — Monna Lisa ; Lucrezia Crivelli ; La Vierge aux Rochers : The Madonna, Child, and St. Anne ; Saint John the Baptist ; The Madonna with the Scales.

## NORTHERN EUROPE.

Vienna. — *Harrach Palace,* — Christ Bearing the Cross. *Lichtenstein Palace,* — Head of Christ ; A Lady.

Pest. — *Academy,* — Madonna ; Portrait of Leonardo.

Berlin. — *Museum,* — Madonna and Child.

Augsburg. — *Gallery,* — A Woman's Head.

Munich. — *Pinakothek.* — Madonna.

Antwerp. — *Cathedral.* — Head of Christ.

Copenhagen. — *Royal Gallery,* — St. Catherine.

The Hague. — *Royal Gallery,* — Leda ; Flora.

St. Petersburg. — *The Hermitage Palace,* — Holy Family ; St. Sebastian.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

London. — *National Gallery,* — Christ Disputing with the Doctors (?). *Royal Academy,* — Cartoon of the Virgin and St. Anne. *Lord Ashburton,* — The Infant Jesus and

John the Baptist; Madonna. *Halford*, — Madonna's Head. *Charlton Park* (Earl of Suffolk), — La Vierge aux Rochers. *Gatton Park* (Countess of Warwick), — Holy Family (formerly Lord Monson's). *Thirlestaine House* (Lord Northwick), — Madonna. *Chatsworth* (Duke of Devonshire), — A Youth's Portrait. *Wooton Hall*, — Madonna. *Basildon Park*, — Female Figure.

OXFORD. — *Christ Church College*, — Several Sketches.

WINDSOR CASTLE. — Three Volumes of Drawings.

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